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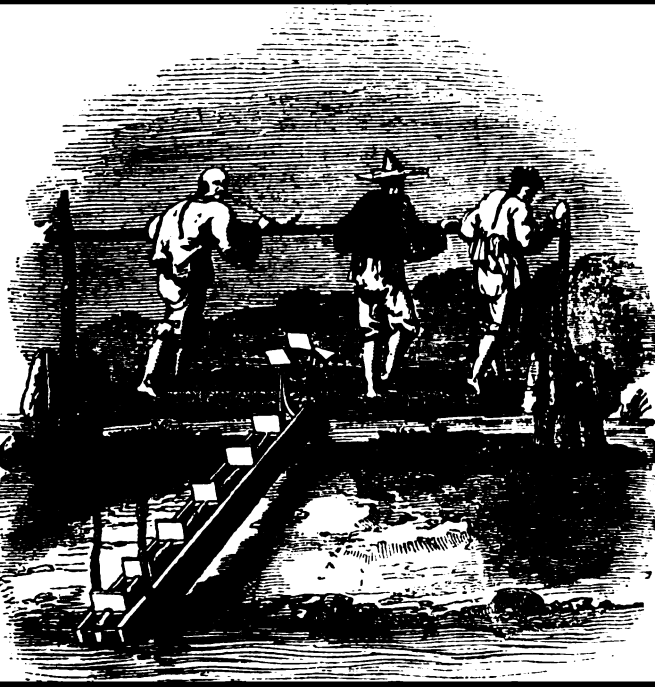

The Chinese

Sir John Francis Davis

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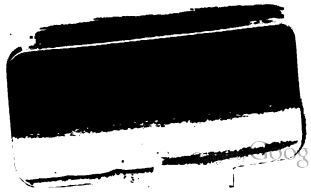

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THE CHINESE:

A

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

CHINA AND ITS INHABITANTS

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.

GOVERNOR OF HONG-KONG.

A NEW EDITION, ENLARGED AND REVISED.

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THE CHINESE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARTS AND INVENTIONS.

THERE appear to be reasonable grounds for the belief, that what are justly considered in Europe as three of the most important inventions or discoveries of modern times, the art of printing, the composition of gunpowder, and the magnetic compass, had their first origin in China. However much we may have outstripped them in the use and application of these instruments or agents, the Chinese can urge claims to the priority of possession, which are sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person; and it seems fair to conclude that the knowledge, or tradition of these contrivances travelled slowly westward through the channels of Oriental commerce, and were obscurely derived, by those who first imported them to Europe, by the way of Asia Minor or the Red Sea. There cannot be the least doubt of the art of printing having been practised in China during the tenth century of our era. The precise mode in which they operate is certainly different from ours; but the main principle, that of multiplying and cheapening books by saving the time and labour of transcription, is altogether the same.

Shortly previous to the commencement of the *Soong* dynasty, about the middle of the tenth century, a minister of state, named Foong-taou, is said to have introduced to the notice of government the art of tak-

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ing impressions upon paper. History states that the first essay in printing was to transfer the pages from stone blocks, on which the writing had been engraved —a process by which the ground of the paper was black, and the letters white. This at length led to the improved invention of wooden stereotype blocks, on which the characters were cut in relief, as at present, and the effect thereby *reversed*, the paper page remaining white, and the characters being impressed in ink. Dugald Stewart, in his work on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, considers the invention of printing "rather as the result of those general causes on which the progress of society seems to depend than as the mere effect of a fortunate accident;"—in fact, as a step in the social history of man, and as marking a particular point of his progress. Admitting this to be true, it would follow that the Chinese in the tenth century were not only further advanced than their contemporaries of Europe (of which there can be no doubt whatever), but that they had reached a higher point of civilization than the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The high estimation in which letters have ever been held in China may certainly be supposed to have contributed to the invention by which books are rendered available to the greatest number of readers; and it seems evident, from Chinese history, that as the period of Soong, which immediately followed, is celebrated for its writers, that invention gave an impetus to the national taste for its own peculiar learning. For all purposes of cheapness and expedition the method of printing is perfect; and a little consideration will show that the stereotype plan is more peculiarly suited to the Chinese characters than to any other. The European alphabet consists of only a few letters, whose infinite combinations form many languages; with them, on the contrary, every *word* is a different character. The six-and-twenty letters of our alphabet are all within the reach of the compositor in setting up a page of type; and, from long practice, he

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moves his hands to the little cells in which they are arranged almost without looking; but in China it would require the combination of a Briareus with an Argus to pick out the hundreds, if not thousands, of different characters in the printing of a single book. Then, again, the immense number of copies of their standard, or sacred, works, required in a population of hundreds of millions, all *reading*, if they do not *speak*, the same language, is another reason for stereotype.

But, on the other hand, there are some rare occasions on which particular reasons exist to make single or moveable types preferable, and on these occasions the Chinese use them. Mention has already been made of the Red Book, or Court Kalendar, containing the name and office of every functionary in the empire. A new edition of this is published every quarter; and as the characters which it contains are always pretty nearly the same, with only the difference of arrangement, this particular case approximates to that of our own alphabet; for which reason the Kalendar and some other works are printed with moveable types. For their general literature, the stereotype possesses another advantage; they can take off the impressions according to the sale of the work, and there is no needless expenditure of paper. When the faces of the letters are worn by use, they retouch them, and render them available for farther impressions; but, from the following account of their printing process, it will be remarked that there is not anything like the same pressure, nor consequently the same wear and tear, as in our European printing. This, however, may be compensated by the greater durability of material in our metal type.

The material commonly used by the Chinese is pear-tree wood, called by them *ly-mŏ*. The wooden plate or block, of a thickness calculated to give it sufficient strength, is finely planed and squared to the shape and dimensions of *two* pages. The surface is then rubbed over with a paste or size, occa-

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sionally made from boiled rice, which renders it quite smooth, and at the same time softens and otherwise prepares it for the reception of the characters. The future pages, which have been finely transcribed by a professional person on thin transparent paper, are delivered to the block-cutter, who, while the above-mentioned application is still wet, unites them to the block, so that they adhere; but in an *inverted* position, the thinness of the paper displaying the writing perfectly through the back. The paper being subsequently rubbed off, a clear impression in ink of the inverted writing remains on the wood. The workman then with his sharp graver cuts away with extraordinary neatness and despatch all that portion of the wooden surface which is not covered by the ink, leaving the characters in pretty high relief. Any slight error may be corrected, as in our wood-cuts, by inserting small pieces of wood: but the process is upon the whole so cheap and expeditious that it is generally easier to replane the block and cut it again; for their mode of taking the impression renders the thickness of the block an immaterial point.*

Strictly speaking, "the press of China" would be a misnomer, as no press whatever is used in their printing. The paper, which is almost as thin and bibulous, or absorbent of ink, as what we call silver-paper, receives the impression with a gentle contact, while a harder pressure would break through it. The printer holds in his right hand two brushes, at the opposite extremities of the same handle; with one he inks the face of the characters, and the paper being then laid on, he runs the dry brush over so as to make it take the impression. They do this with such expedition that one man can take off a couple of thousand copies in a day. The paper, being so thin and transparent,

* For ephemeral works, this block-printing is of course less adapted. A daily paper at Canton is imperfectly printed from a composition of the consistence of wax, in which characters can be more rapidly formed

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is printed on *one side* only, and each printed sheet (consisting of two pages) is folded back, so as to bring the blank sides in inward contact. The fold is thus on the *outer* edge of the book, and the sheets are stitched together at the other; which might lead an uninformed person to take any Chinese book for a new work, with its leaves still uncut. In folding the sheets the workman is guided by a black line, which directs him in the same manner that the holes, made by the points in our printed sheets, direct the binder.

Every Chinese volume is a species of *brochure*, neatly stitched with silk thread in a smooth paper of a drab colour, and every volume is numbered on the outer edges of the leaves. Collectors of choice books put up about ten volumes of the same work in a neat case, covered with flowered satin or silk. The popular works of the country are greatly cheaper than ours; they have no taxes on literature, and three or four volumes of any ordinary work, of the octavo size and shape, may be had for a sum equivalent to two shillings. A Canton bookseller's manuscript catalogue marked the price of the four books of Confucius, including the Commentary, at a sum rather under half-a-crown. The cheapness of their common literature is occasioned partly by the mode of printing, but partly also by the low price of paper. What is called *India paper*, by our engravers and print-sellers, is nothing but the large sheets in which the silk piece-goods of China are wrapped, as they are brought to us from Canton. These have commonly been purchased at an exorbitant price in London; but they might be bought by the chest, upon the spot, for much less than our own paper costs. There is, however, a considerable duty on the importation.

The date of the invention of paper seems to prove that some of the most important arts, connected with the progress of civilization, are not extremely ancient in China. In the time of Confucius they wrote on the finely-pared bark of the bamboo with a style; they next used silk and linen, which explains why the cha-

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racter *chy*, paper, is compounded of that for silk. It was not until A.D. 95 that paper was invented. The materials which they use in the manufacture are various. A coarse yellowish paper, used for wrapping parcels, is made from rice-straw.* The better kinds are composed of the *liber* or inner part of a species of *morus*, as well as of cotton, but principally of *bamboo;* and we may extract the description of the last from the Chinese Repository:† "The stalks are cut near the ground, and then sorted into parcels according to the age, and tied up in small bundles. The younger the bamboo, the better is the quality of the paper which is made from it. The bundles are thrown into a reservoir of mud and water, and buried in the ooze for about a fortnight to soften them. They are then taken out, cut into pieces of a proper length, and put into mortars with a little water, to be pounded to a pulp with large wooden pestles. This semifluid mass, after being cleansed of the coarsest parts, is transferred to a great tub of water, and additions of the substance are made until the whole becomes of sufficient consistence to form paper. Then a workman takes up a sheet with a mould or frame of the proper dimensions, which is constructed of bamboo in small strips, made smooth and round like wire. The pulp is continually agitated by other hands, while one is taking up the sheets, which are then laid upon smooth tables to dry. According to others, the paper is dried by placing the newly made sheets upon a heated wall, and rubbing them with brushes until dry. This paper is unfit for writing on with liquid ink, and is of a yellowish colour. The Chinese size it by dipping the sheets into a solution of fish-glue and alum, either during or after the first process of making it.‡ The sheets are usually

* They also obtain paper from the re-manufacture of what has been used, as well as from rags of silk and cotton.

† Vol. iii. p. 265.

‡ Sized paper is not required in their printing, where the ink is of a thicker consistency.

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three feet and a half in length, and two in breadth. The fine paper used for letters is polished, after sizing, by rubbing it with smooth stones."

What is commonly known in this country under the name of Indian ink is nothing more than what the Chinese manufacture for their own writing. The writing apparatus consists of a square of this ink; a little black slab of schistus or slate,* polished smooth, with a depression at one end to hold water; a small brush, or pencil, of rabbit's hair inserted into a reed handle; and a bundle of paper. These four articles, the ink, the slab on which it is rubbed, the writing-pencil, and the paper, are called (with that respect which the Chinese profess for letters) "the four precious implements." They are taught very early to keep them in high order and neatness, and, as men's impressions are always more or less the results of habit, this of course has its effect.

The Chinese, or, as it is miscalled, *Indian*, ink has been erroneously supposed to consist of the secretion of a species of *sepia*, or cuttle-fish. It is, however, all manufactured from lamp-black and gluten, with the addition of a little musk to give it a more agreeable odour.† Père Contancin gave the following as a process for making the ink:—A number of lighted wicks are put into a vessel full of oil. Over this is hung a dome or funnel-shaped cover of iron, at such a distance as to receive the smoke. Being well coated with lamp-black, this is brushed off and collected upon paper. It is then well mixed in a mortar with a solution of gum or gluten, and when reduced to the consistence of paste, it is put into little moulds, where it receives those shapes and impressions with which it comes to this country. It is occasionally manufac-

* This is found in the mountains called *Leu-shân*, on the west side of the Poyang lake, where the last embassy saw quantities of these slabs manufactured for sale.

† A black dye, but not ink, is obtained from the cup of the acorn, which abounds in gallic acid.

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tured in a great variety of forms and sizes, and stamped with ornamental devices, either plain, or in gold and various colours.

Besides being the universal ink of China, this manufacture serves occasionally with them, as it does with us, for drawings and designs, in executing which they use the same hair pencils with which they write. They consider that the best ink is produced from the burning of particular oils, but the commoner and cheaper kinds are obtained, it is said, from fir-wood. As almost every place in China is more noted than others for the manufacture or production of some particular article, the best ink is produced at Hoey-chow-foo, not far from Nanking; and a certain quantity annually manufactured for the use of the emperor and the court is called *Koong-mĕ*, "tribute-ink." The same name, however, is often given to any commodity, to imply its superiority over others of the same description, just as if the person who makes it were to call himself "Manufacturer to his Majesty." The best ink is that which is most intensely black, and most free from grittiness. Of the superior sorts a number of ornamented cakes are often tastefully disposed in small cases finely japanned and gilt; and, when their ink is very old, the Chinese sometimes apply it, as they do almost everything in its turn, in *medicine*.

However ancient may be the discovery, among this people, of the *composition* of gunpowder, its particular application to fire-arms was probably derived from the west.* The silence regarding cannon of the two elder Polos,† who served at the siege of Siang-yang-foo about the year 1273, and the circumstance of those persons having taught the use of balistæ for hurling stones to the Tartar emperor, seem to prove that the Chinese at that period were as little acquainted with

* The Chinese name has no reference to guns, and simply means *fire-drug*.

† Marsden's edition, 4to. p. 488.

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fire-arms as Europeans. Their history notices the use of a composition of the nature of Greek fire, which, when thrown into the ditches that surrounded cities, exploded in contact with water, and proved very destructive. The invention of powder, as compounded of "sulphur, salt-petre, and *willow* charcoal," is carried very far back by the Chinese, and was probably applied by them to fire-works (in which they excel at present), or other harmless and useful purposes, long before their unwarlike spirit could have suggested the use of guns to themselves, or they could have borrowed the notion from Europeans.

It is reasonable to suppose that the early discovery of the composition of gunpowder was promoted by the abundance of *nitre*, a substance which abounds in the alluvial plains near Peking as much as it does in those of Bengal. Mr. Wilkinson, of London, in a lecture on the subject of gunpowder, has some observations deserving notice. He gives a table of the different quantities of nitre, charcoal, and sulphur, used by different nations in the manufacture, the proportions being expressed in 100 parts:—

	Nitre.	Charcoal.	Sulphur.	Total.
England....	75	15	10	100
France.....	75	15·5	9·5	100
Sweden.....	75	16	9	100
Russia.....	70	18·5	11·5	100
Austria.....	76	13	11	100
China.....	75·7	14·4	9·9	100

"The powder manufactured in England" (Mr. Wilkinson observes) "is preferred in commerce to that of other countries of Europe, as being much the strongest. It may therefore be inferred that our proportions are the best, though no doubt the excellence of the powder may partly depend on the purification and perfect admixture of the materials. It is, however, worth observation, how nearly our proportions

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agree with those of the Chinese,* and, as they seldom change anything, it has probably been the same from the beginning; though, from the imperfection of the mixture and the impurity of the materials, their powder may be inferior in strength to that produced in many other countries." That it is sometimes tolerably efficient was proved by the author of this seeing a seaman killed at his gun on board the *Imogene* frigate by a shot which first came through the ship's side. It must be observed, however, that the ship was then within pistol-shot of the battery.

The Chinese, we may remark, have always acknowledged their great inferiority in gunnery. Before the Jesuits taught them to cast cannon, there is reason to suppose that they used tubes of wrought iron bound together by hoops, some of which were seen by Bell of Antermony. The last emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, as we have before observed, invited the assistance of some guns and artillerymen from the Portuguese of Macao against the Tartars, and *Kâng-hy*, after the conquest of China, employed Père Verbiest to superintend the casting of some hundreds of guns—a union of military pursuits with clerical, which brought some scandal upon the enterprising father at Rome. One circumstance in the Chinese system must tend very much to the imperfection of their gunpowder. This munition of war seems, from the following extract of a Peking Gazette for 1824, to be prepared by the troops themselves as required: "The governor of Hoonân province has presented a report concerning the death of several persons by the explosion of gunpowder, as they were manufacturing the same in camp. While pounding the materials in a stone mortar, in the camp of the left division of the governor's troops,

* "The Honourable Colonel Napier, when in the ordnance department, procured a sample of powder from China, which, on the average analysis of 2 oz., was found to consist of 720 gr. saltpetre, 141 charcoal, 89 sulphur, and 10 loss. Dividing the deficiency equally, and reducing it to the proportion in 100 parts, gives the result in the above table."—*Lecture.*

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a spark which was struck ignited the whole quantity of powder, and the explosion killed five soldiers, together with six other persons."*

It remains to notice the claims of the Chinese to priority of invention in the case of the magnetic compass; and we may here refer to the sagacious investigations of Klaproth *sur l'invention de la Boussole*, in a letter addressed to M. de Humboldt.† The first distinct notice in Europe of the properties of the polarized needle appears in a satirical poem of Guyot de Provins, about the year 1190; and the next writer who refers to the same phenomenon is Cardinal de Vitry, who visited Palestine in the fourth crusade, and a second time subsequently at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He says distinctly, "*Adamas in India reperitur*;" and moreover adds, "*Acus ferrea, postquam adamantem contigerit, ad stellam septentrionalem, quæ velut axis firmamenti aliis vergentibus non movetur, semper convertitur; unde valde necessaria est navigantibus in mari.*" Subsequently to him, Brunetto Latini, author of a work in French called *Le Trésor*, written about 1260, observes likewise that it was calculated to be highly useful at sea; but at the same time notices the ignorant prejudice by which navigators were deterred from its adoption; for, says he, "No master mariner dares to use it, lest he should fall under the supposition of being a magician; nor would even the sailors venture themselves out to sea under his command if he took with him an instrument which carries so great an appearance of being constructed under the influence of some infernal spirit." A more recent writer, the Jesuit Riccioli, states that "in the reign of St. Louis the French mariners commonly used the magnetic needle, which they kept swimming in a little vessel of water, and prevented from sinking by two tubes."

From the above authorities, and one or two others,

* Royal Asiat. Trans., vol. i. p. 395.
† Date, 1834.

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M. Klaproth, with sufficient reason, infers that the use of the magnetic needle was known in Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century; but none of those writers state that it was *invented* in Europe; they rather afford a presumption that the knowledge of it was obtained during the crusades. That the mariner's compass was in use likewise among the Arabs about the year 1242 is proved by a citation from Baylak, an Arabian writer, who mentions it as a contrivance generally known to navigators in the sea of Syria. M. Klaproth then proceeds to show that the Chinese compass was, about the year 1117, made exactly in the same manner as that seen by Baylak among the pilots of Syria. "It follows from all these facts (observes Klaproth), that this species of compass was used in China at least eighty years previous to the composition of Guyot de Provins' satire; that the Arabs possessed it nearly at the same time; and that, consequently, this invention was communicated, either directly or indirectly, to the Arabs by the Chinese, and that the Arabs transmitted it to the Franks during the early crusades." Gioia of Amalfi, who is commonly supposed to have discovered the use of the needle at the commencement of the thirteenth century, probably obtained it from some Eastern traders.

The attractive power of the loadstone has been known to the Chinese from remote antiquity, but its property of communicating polarity to iron is for the first time explicitly noticed in a Chinese dictionary finished in A.D. 121. Under the head of Loadstone appears this definition:—"A stone with which a direction can be given to the needle." Père Gaubil, in his history of the Tâng dynasty, states that he found, in a work written one hundred years later than the above, the use of the compass distinctly recorded. In a dictionary published in the reign of Kâng-hy (not the *imperial* work which goes by his name), it is stated that under the Tsin dynasty (previous to A.D. 419) ships were steered to the south by the magnet. But it was not with the compass alone that the Chinese

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were so early acquainted: M. Klaproth has shown that they had observed, long before us, the variation of the needle from the true pole.

The author of a Chinese work on medicine and natural history has the following passage:—"When a steel point is rubbed with the magnet, it acquires the property of pointing to the *south*; yet it declines always to the east, and is not due south. If the needle be passed through a wick (made of a rush) and placed on water, it will also indicate the south, but with a continual inclination towards the point *ping*, or § south." Klaproth then shows that such is actually the case at Peking, according to the observations of Père Amiot, who states, as the result of his own experiments during a number of years, that "the variation of the magnetic needle continues the same in this capital, viz., between 2° and 2° 30′ to the west." Now, as the Chinese suppose that the point of magnetic attraction is to the south, they of course reverse the foregoing terms, and say that the needle points *south*, with a variation *east*.

This very difference is a mark of the originality of the Chinese compass, which is farther proved (as Mr. Barrow observes) by their having engrafted upon, and combined with it, their most ancient astrological notions. From the numerous specimens in this country, it may be seen that this instrument, instead of consisting of a moveable card attached to the needle, is simply a needle of less than an inch in length, slung in a glazed hole in the centre of a solid wooden dish, finely varnished. The broad circumference of this dish is marked off into concentric circles, on which are inscribed the eight mystical figures of Fohy, the twelve horary characters, the ten others which, combined with these, mark the years of the cycle, the twenty-four divisions of their solar year, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, &c.

The Chinese, however, appear to have applied the polarity of the magnet to a double purpose, and to have used it in ancient times as a guide on shore as

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well as at sea. This was effected by a machine called a *magnetic car*, in which was placed a little figure of a man turning on a point, and having its finger always directed to the same part of the horizon. A representation of the car is inserted in Klaproth's work, as copied from a Chinese encyclopædia. It is stated, in a history of the Tsin dynasty, that the figure placed upon the car represented "a genius in a feather dress," and that when the emperor went out on state occasions, this car "always led the way, and served to indicate the four points of the compass." These magnetic cars were also known in Japan about the middle of the seventh century, as is proved from the testimony of Japanese works; but they admit that the invention came from China.

But however ancient their knowledge of the compass, the art of navigation among the Chinese has rather retrograded than advanced in later times. It is clear that they once navigated as far as India, and their most distant voyages at present extend no farther than Java, and the Malay islands to the south. The principal obstacle to improvement consists in the unconquerable prejudice which forbids any alteration in the construction of their clumsy and unsafe junks. The hull of these in shape and appearance is not unlike a Chinese shoe, to which it is sometimes compared by themselves.* The stern is cleft, and as it were open, to admit the huge rudder, and thus shelter it in some measure from the blows of the sea; but with the least stern-way on the vessel, it seems calculated to prove fatal. In lieu of pitch, they caulk with a putty composed of burnt gypsum and oil,† mixed sometimes with bamboo shavings for oakum. Their flat unyielding sails of mat enable them to lie much

* The *eye* painted on the bows has a singularly exact parallel in the *eye of Osiris*, painted on those curious models of Egyptian vessels contained in Mr. Salt's collection of antiquities, sold lately in London.

† Extracted from the *Tung-shoo*, or Dryandra cordata.

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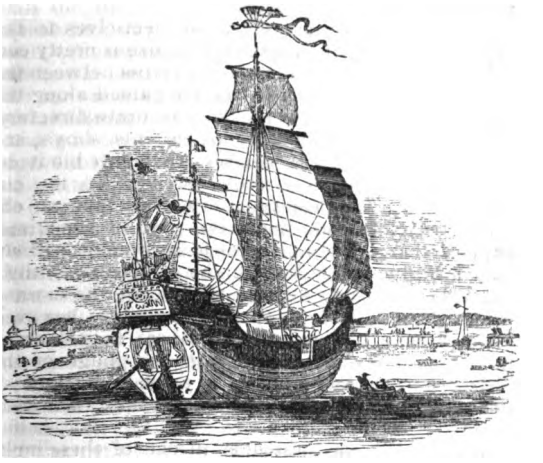
nearer to the wind in light weather than our ships can do with canvass sails: but then, on the other hand, the flat bottom, without any keel whatever, occasions their falling fast to leeward, and gives the advantage altogether to our vessels. The clumsy anchors of the junks are made of a very heavy and hard wood, called by the Chinese *teih-mŏ*, "iron wood," and they have only a single arm in some cases.



[Trading Junk.]

It has been objected to the accuracy of Marco Polo, that he mentions junks having *more* than one sail to a mast, on the ground that "Chinese vessels do not carry any kind of topsail." The fact, however, is that they do very frequently, in light weather, and with the wind right aft, carry a topsail of canvass or cotton. These, with a view to holding as much wind, with as little perpendicular strain on the mast as possible, are stretched to only about half the actual height of the

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sail; and they accordingly belly or bulge very much. It seems to have been proved, by the experiments of Mr. Edgeworth on the resistance of the air, that a curved surface of the *same* perpendicular height holds more wind than a flat one; or that the pressure of the wind is increased by augmenting the surface on which it acts. Admitting this to be the fact, it seems to be in favour of the sagacity of the Chinese in this particular instance.

As long as their junks confine themselves to the neighbourhood of the coast, their course is pretty certain. They generally stand boldly across between the most prominent headlands, and are guided along the whole line of coast by a tolerably accurate directory, in which are noted the harbours, currents, shoals, and other particulars. The courses are pointed out by means of the figures, already described, on the circumference of their compass. They can take no observations of the sun themselves; but it sometimes happens that a junk sailing as far as Batavia will engage a Portuguese of Macao, who is just able, with an old rusty sextant, to take an altitude of the sun and work out the latitude in a rough way. This, however, is never done in short voyages, where they steer by their compass without any chart, and judge of the distances by the last promontory or island in sight; a practice in which long experience makes them very expert.

Mr. Gutzlaff was passenger in one of these junks from Siam to the north of China, and has given a very full and interesting account of the voyage, as well as of the management and internal economy of a Chinese trading-vessel. Besides perpetual offerings to an image of the "Queen of Heaven," whom we have before mentioned as the sailor's deity, they worship the compass itself. This is covered with a stripe of red cloth, some of which is also tied to the rudder and cable, the next objects of consequence to the sailors. Incense-sticks are burnt, and gilt paper, made into the form of a junk, is kindled before it. The compass

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likewise constitutes head-quarters on board. Near it some tobacco, a pipe, and a burning lamp are placed, and here the crew adjourn to enjoy themselves. In a dead calm, a quantity of gilt paper shaped like a junk is set adrift, and offerings made to the goddess and sundry demons: but if all this proves ineffectual, the offerings cease, and they await the result in patience.

The account which Mr. Gutzlaff gives of the manning and discipline of these trading-junks serves to explain in part the loss of so many at sea, when combined with the other imperfections attendant on their construction and management. They seem to be filled with the scum and offscourings of the Chinese population—abandoned and desperate characters who have nothing to lose, and who cannot subsist on shore. Besides the principal owner of the cargo, or agent for those who own it, there is the captain or pilot. He sits constantly on the weather-side of the vessel, observing the shores and promontories as they are approached, and from habit seldom lies down to sleep. Though he has the nominal command over the sailors, these obey him or not, according to their pleasure; and sometimes scold or brave him like one of their own number. Next to the pilot is the helmsman, who manages the steering and sails. Besides clerks for the cargo, there is a purchaser of provisions, and another whose express business it is to attend to the offerings and to burn incense. The crew consists of two classes: the able seamen, who are called *Tow-mŏ*, "heads and eyes;" and the ordinary seamen, or "comrades."

All these, with the exception of the last class, have sleeping-berths, just large enough to hold one person. Every one is a shareholder, with the privilege of putting a certain quantity of goods on board. The principal object of all is trade, and the working of the junk would seem to be a subordinate point. The crew exercise full control over the vessel, and oppose every measure which they deem injurious to their own interest; so that the captain and pilot are frequently

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obliged to submit to them. In time of danger the men often lose all courage; and their indecision, with the confusion that attends the absence of discipline, not unfrequently proves the destruction of the junk. Mr. Gutzlaff adds that, although they consider our mode of sailing as something better than their own,* they claim the superiority upon the whole for their own vessels, and would consider it as an imitation of barbarians to alter them. We are persuaded, however, that the risk of trouble and extortion on the part of the government is the chief obstacle to improvement in these respects. The Siamese have already adopted many things from our ships, and two *copper-bottomed* vessels came lately from Siam to Canton. On this very ground, the local government would not permit them to ascend the river much beyond Whampoa, the European anchorage.

The ingenuity of the Chinese is best displayed in their arts and manufactures on shore, and in nothing more conspicuously than the ready and simple modes in which they contrive to abridge labour, and occasionally to avail themselves of a mechanical advantage, without any of the aids of scientific knowledge. "Chance" (says Dr. Abel) "led me to the shop of a blacksmith, the manufacturer of various iron instruments, from a sword to a hoe. This man well understood the modifying properties of heat, and took the fullest advantage of them in all the practical concerns of his business. He was forming a reaping-hook at the time of my visit. A large pair of shears, having one blade fixed in a heavy block of wood, and the

* He was requested by the captain and others to explain the method of finding the latitude and longitude. When he had endeavoured to make them understand the theory, the captain wondered that he could bring (with the sextant) the sun on a level with the horizon; and insisted that by the *same process* he could "also tell the depth of water." But, being disappointed in this, he exclaimed that observations "were entirely useless and truly barbarian!"

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other furnished with a long handle to serve as a lever, stood beside him. Bringing a piece of metal of the necessary dimensions from the forge at a white heat, he placed it between the blades of this instrument, and cut it into shape with equal ease and despatch."

In exemplification of the same point, we may quote another instance from the journal of Dr. Abel, who was a very intelligent observer. "A quantity of oil, recently taken from the mill (where it had been pressed), and contained in a wide shallow vessel, was continually agitated by a large copper pestle, with which a lad, for some particular purpose, gently struck its surface. The fatigue that would otherwise have arisen from the weight of the pestle, and uniform motion of the arm in using it, was prevented by the following very simple contrivance: a small bow of bamboo being fastened to the ceiling immediately over the vessel containing the oil, the pestle was attached to its string, and, thus suspended, it received from the slightest touch an adequate impulse, while the elasticity of the bow gave it the necessary recoil." In this manner it was worked by a young boy, who otherwise would not have had strength to manage the pestle.

With regard to some of their industrious arts, it may be a question whether they are original and indigenous, or borrowed from India; though, with the known ingenuity of the Chinese, the presumption is in favour of the former. In cleaning cotton, they make use of a double process, in most respects similar to that known in India. The machine for freeing the cotton from its seed consists of two wooden cylinders, placed horizontally one above the other, and very nearly in contact. These are put in motion by a wheel and treadle, and the cotton, being applied to one side of the crevice, is turned over by the revolution of the cylinders or rollers to the opposite; while the seeds which are too large to enter between them fall to the ground. The cotton is then freed from knots and dirt by the same process as in Hindoostan

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A very elastic bow with a tight string is held by the carder over a heap of cotton-wool. Pulling down the string with some force under a portion of the cotton,

[Cleaning Cotton.]

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by means of a wooden instrument in his right hand, he suddenly allows the bow to recoil, and the vibration thus continually kept up scatters and loosens the cotton, separating it into fine white flocks, without breaking the fibre.

In some other instances, and indeed in most, no doubt can exist of the originality of invention; and the chief of these are the manufactures of *silk* and *porcelain*, which will presently be noticed. Their mode of making candles from the seed of the *croton sebiferum* is peculiar. This seed, which is contained in a three-lobed berry, is surrounded by a white substance not unlike tallow in consistence. It is first of all ground or crushed in an iron rut, which forms the arc of a circle, and in which a heavy wheel, suspended from a beam above, works backwards and forwards. When ground, it is heated over a fire to melt the vegetable grease, and then subjected to the press. The object is sometimes gained by boiling the bruised seed in water, and skimming the grease from the top. As this substance easily melts, the candles made from it are coated on the outside with wax. They burn rapidly, having a large wick, and give a very bad light with a great deal of smoke. The mode of procuring the oil from the berry of the *Camellia oleifera* is nearly the same as in the case of the croton. The seed is first crushed by pounding or grinding, and then put over the fire in bags, which are afterwards removed to the press. This oil is rather of a fine and delicate quality, and used in cookery, like olive oil in the south of Europe.

In various branches of the manufacture of metals the Chinese possess considerable skill. They have the art of casting iron in very thin plates, and of repairing vessels thus constructed, by means of a small furnace and blowpipe with which an itinerant workman goes his rounds. Their wrought-iron work is not so neat as our own, but extremely efficient. In point of cheapness, too, we excel them in this article; and it seems likely that if Chinese models of iron implements, and tools

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of every kind, were brought home and exactly imitated at Birmingham and Sheffield, without any attempts at improvement in the general shape or adaptation, they might become an article of commerce. As it is, the Chinese only import our iron in bars, and work it up themselves. A conformity to their own native models should guide the preparation of nearly all articles for the Chinese market. They will scarcely look at what has a foreign fashion about it, even though it should be better than their own; always excepting, of course, clocks and watches, of which they admit the utility, but which they have now begun to manufacture for themselves, importing the springs and some other portions of the works from England.

Their white copper, which has much of the appearance of silver, has a close grain, and takes a good polish. It is an alloy of copper, zinc, and iron, with a little silver, and occasionally some nickel. When in the state of ore, it is said to be powdered, mixed with charcoal-dust, and placed in jars over a slow fire, the metal rising in the form of vapour in a distilling apparatus, and being afterwards condensed in water. It is sufficiently malleable to be converted into boxes, dishes, and various household utensils. The most singular application of this metal, however, is to the manufacture of certain tea-pots, which are formed in a very puzzling manner *over an earthen vessel* of the same shape, which appears as an interior lining. The handle and spout are commonly of the stone called *jade*, to which the Chinese give the name of *yu*. The outsides of these tea-pots are generally cut with inscriptions and devices on the metal, and a specimen of one is in the opposite page.

The highly sonorous nature of their *gongs* arises from the large proportion of tin in combination with copper. In the most considerable Budhist temples is always suspended a great cylindrical bell, which, however, is not rung like our bells, by swinging with a clapper, but struck on the outside with a large wooden mallet. The great bell of Peking, measured by one

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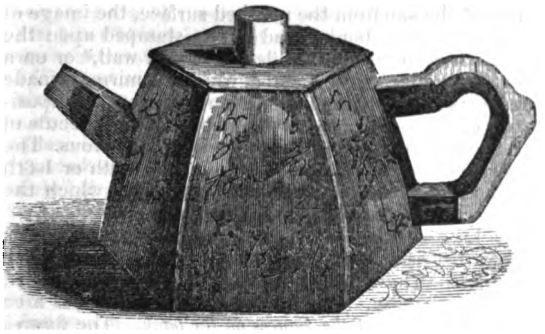

[Metal Tea-pot, covering earthenware.]

of the Jesuits, was fourteen feet and a half in height, and nearly thirteen feet in diameter. This, as well as most others of the kind, is very ancient; and with such antique specimens we may include the vases and tripods of bronze and other metals, on which the Chinese place great store, but which are generally rather too clumsy to possess much elegance. Another of their antiques in metal is the circular mirror, the speculum of which is formed apparently of a mixture of copper and tin, with perhaps a portion of silver. Some of the round metal mirrors, sold in Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian antiquities, are surprisingly like these.

But there is a puzzling property in many of the Chinese mirrors which deserves particular notice, and we may give it together with the solution furnished by Sir David Brewster:—"The mirror has a knob in the centre of the back, by which it can be held, and on the rest of the back are stamped in relief certain circles with a kind of Grecian border. Its polished surface has that degree of convexity which gives an image of the face half its natural size; and its remarkable property is, that when you reflect the

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rays of the sun from the polished surface, the image of the ornamental border, and circles stamped upon the back, is seen distinctly reflected on the wall," or on a sheet of paper. "The metal of which the mirror is made appears to be what is called Chinese silver, a composition of tin and copper, like the metal for the specula of reflecting telescopes. The metal is very sonorous. The mirror has a rim (at the back) of about 1-4th or 1-6th of an inch broad, and the inner part, upon which the figures are stamped, is considerably thinner.

"Like all other conjurers (says Sir David Brewster), the artist has contrived to make the observer deceive himself. The stamped figures on the back are used for this purpose. The spectrum in the luminous area *is not an image of the figures on the back*. The figures are a copy of the picture which the artist has *drawn on the face of the mirror*, and so concealed by polishing, that it is invisible in ordinary lights, and can be brought out only in the sun's rays. Let it be required, for example, to produce the dragon as exhibited by one of the Chinese mirrors. When the surface of the mirror is ready for polishing, the figure of the dragon may be delineated upon it in extremely shallow lines, or it may be eaten out by an acid much diluted, so as to remove the smallest possible portion of the metal. The surface must then be highly polished, not upon pitch, like glass and specula, because this would polish away the figure, but upon cloth, in the way that lenses are sometimes polished. In this way the sunk part of the shallow lines will be as highly polished as the rest, and the figure will only be visible in very strong lights, by reflecting the sun's rays from the metallic surface."

Metallic mirrors are now very much superseded among the Chinese by the use of glass ones. Their looking-glasses, however, being extremely thin, and the surfaces not ground and polished, like our plate-glass, are very imperfect. They are coated at the back, like ours, with an amalgam of mercury. The glass at Canton is partly obtained by remelting what

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is broken after it comes from Europe: but it is certain that the Chinese import our flints chiefly for the glass manufacture.*

The last embassy observed that there were no glass windows near Peking, the universal substitute being a strong semi-transparent paper which comes from Corea. The Chinese explain this by saying that no glass window has ever been found to be proof against such wide extremes of heat and cold as exist in the north of China. At Canton it has sometimes been found that an unusual change of temperature has broken the panes; but this must have arisen from the pressure of the half-seasoned and ill-constructed window frames on the glass. In their table utensils, the Chinese adhere to the use of porcelain in preference to glass or any other material.

In the ornamental processes of carving wood and ivory, and other substances, the Chinese greatly excel the rest of the world. Those ivory balls, containing sometimes as many as seven or eight others in the interior, have long excited the surprise of Europeans, and even led to the supposition that some deception must be exercised in joining the exterior balls after the others have been inserted. They are, however, really cut one within the other, by means of sharp crooked instruments working through the numerous round holes with which the balls are perforated, and which enable the workman to cut away the substance between, and thus to detach the balls from one another, after which the surfaces are carved. Their skill and industry are not less shown in cutting the hardest materials, as exemplified in their snuff-bottles of agate and rock crystal, which are hollowed into perfect bottles of about two inches in length, through openings in the neck not a quarter of an inch in diameter: but more than this, the crystal bottles are inscribed on the *inside* with minute characters so as to be read through the transparent substance.

* The materials are fused in a small reverberating furnace

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The peculiar fashion of the Chinese tools in most cases proves their originality. Their carpenter's *saw* is formed of a very thin plate of steel, which for this reason is kept straight by a light frame of bamboo at the back, which serves at the same time as a handle. In appearance this has a heavy and clumsy look, but the lightness of the bamboo prevents it being so in reality. Carpenters work their *awls* with a thong, whose two extremities are attached to the two ends of a stick. The thong being quite slack, a single turn of it is taken round the handle of the awl, which is then worked backwards and forwards with great velocity. Some of the articles of furniture made for the English at Canton could not often, in point of neatness, be surpassed in this country, and in respect to solidity are sometimes superior. The anvil of the Chinese blacksmith, instead of having a flat surface, is slightly convex or rounded. The iron that is worked upon it thus extends more easily under the hammer on all sides, but the metal probably loses something in solidity. The bellows consist of a hollow cylinder, the piston of which is so contrived that the blast shall be continuous.

But we have yet to say something of the two principal manufactures of China, those of *silk* and *porcelain*, the originality of which was never contested, as the introduction of both into Europe is perfectly well ascertained; and could the Chinese urge no other claims to praise on account of their ingenuity, these two alone might serve to give them a high rank among the nations of the world. D'Herbelot justly considers that, as Rome obtained the silk manufacture from Greece, and Greece from Persia, so the last was indebted for it, according to the best Oriental authors, to China. The tradition, indeed, of the invention is there carried back into the mythological periods, and dates with the origin of agriculture. These two pursuits or professions, namely, husbandry and the silk manufacture, the chief sources of food and clothing, form the subject of one of the sixteen discourses to

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the people, which have been before noticed. It is there observed, that "from ancient times the Son of Heaven himself directed the plough: the Empress planted the mulberry-tree. Thus have these exalted personages, not above the practice of labour and exertion, set an example to all under heaven, with a view to leading the millions of their subjects to attend to their essential interests."

In the work published by imperial authority, called 'Illustrations of Husbandry and Weaving,' there are numerous woodcuts, accompanied by letter-press explanatory of the different processes of farming and the silk manufacture. The former head is confined to the production of *rice*, the staple article of food, and proceeds from the first ploughing of the land to the packing of the grain; the latter details all the operations connected with planting the mulberry and gathering the leaves, up to the final weaving of the silk. Besides the common mulberry of China, which differs somewhat from that of Europe, they occasionally, in feeding the worms, have recourse to a wild specimen of the *morus* tribe, as well as to the leaves of another tree, supposed to be a variety of ash. The production of silk in the Chinese method, and with the aid of natives of the country, was tried experimentally by the East India Company at St. Helena; but has been abandoned, with the rest of their establishments on that island, since the expiration of the charter. The principal object, in the cultivation of the mulberry for feeding silkworms, is to produce the greatest quantity of young and healthy leaves without fruit. For this reason the trees are not allowed to exceed a certain age and height. They are planted at a convenient distance from each other, on the plan of a quincunx, and are said to be in perfection in about three years.

The mulberry-tree for silkworms is chiefly cultivated in Chĕ-keang, which province, together with the only three others that produce fine silk, namely, Keang-nân, Hoo-pĕ, and Sze-chuen, is crossed by the

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thirtieth parallel of latitude. Chĕ-keang is a highly alluvial country, intersected by numerous rivers and canals, with a climate that corresponds pretty nearly to the same latitude in the United States of America. The soil is manured with mud, which is dug from the rivers, assisted with ashes or dung; and the spaces between the trees are generally filled with millet, pulse, or other articles of food. The time for pruning the young trees, so as to produce fine leafy shoots, is at the commencement of the year. About four eyes are left on every shoot, and care is taken that the branches are properly thinned, with a view to giving plenty of light and air to the leaves. In gathering these, they make use of steps, or a ladder with a prop, as the young trees cannot support a ladder, and would besides be injured in their branches by the use of one. The trees, with their foliage, are carefully watched, and the mischiefs of insects prevented by the use of various applications, among which are some essential oils.

The young trees of course suffer by being stripped of their leaves, which are the *lungs* of plants, and this is an additional reason for renewing them after a certain time. They endeavour in part to counteract the evil effect, by pruning and lopping the tree, so as to diminish the wood when the leaves have been stripped, and it is probable that a few leaves are left on. It is surprising, however, to observe how soon a tree in those climates will recover its leaves in the summer or autumn, after having been entirely stripped of them by a typhoon, or hurricane. Fresh plants are procured by cuttings or layers, or sometimes from seed. When the trees grow too old for the production of the finest leaves, and show a greater tendency to fruiting, they are either removed altogether, or cut and managed so as to produce fresh and young branches.

Mr. Barrow, who observed the management of the trees and silkworms in Chĕ-keang, confirms the usual Chinese accounts, by saying that "the

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houses in which the worms are reared are placed generally in the centre of each plantation, in order that they may be removed as far as possible from every kind of noise; experience having taught them that a sudden shout, or the bark of a dog, is destructive of the young worms. A whole brood has sometimes perished by a thunder storm." The chambers are so contrived as to admit of the use of artificial heat when necessary. Great care is taken of the sheets of paper on which the multitudes of eggs have been laid by the silkworm-moths; and the hatching of these eggs is either retarded or advanced, by the application of cold or heat according to circumstances, so as to time the simultaneous exit of the young worms exactly to the period when the tender spring-leaves of the mulberry are most fit for their nourishment.

They proportion the food very exactly to the young worms by weighing the leaves, which in the first instance are cut, but afterwards, as the insects become larger, are given to them whole. The greatest precautions are observed in regulating the temperature of the apartments, and in keeping them clean, quiet, and free from smells. The worms are fed upon a species of small hurdles of basket-work, strewed with leaves, which are constantly shifted for the sake of cleanliness, the insects readily moving off to a fresh hurdle with new leaves, as the scent attracts them. In proportion to their growth, room is afforded to them by increasing the number of these hurdles, the worms of one being shifted to three, then to six, and so on until they reach their greatest size. The hurdles, as well as the rest of the apparatus, were sent from Canton to St. Helena for the use of the Company's establishment there. When the worms have cast their several skins, reached their greatest size, and assumed a transparent yellowish colour, they are removed into places divided into compartments, preparatory to their spinning.

In the course of a week after the commencement of

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spinning, the silken cocoons are complete, and it now becomes necessary to take them in hand before the pupæ turn into *moths*, which would immediately bore their way out, and spoil the cocoons. When a certain number, therefore, have been laid aside for the sake of future eggs, the pupæ in the bulk of the cocoons are killed by being placed in jars under layers of salt and leaves, with a complete exclusion of air. They are subsequently placed in moderately warm water, which dissolves the glutinous substance that binds the silk together, and the filament is wound off upon reels. This is put up in bundles of a certain size and weight, and either becomes an article of merchandise under the name of "raw silk," or is subjected to the loom, and manufactured into various stuffs, for home or for foreign consumption. Notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of their looms, they will imitate exactly the newest and most elegant patterns from England or France. The Chinese particularly excel in the production of damasks and flowered satins. Their crape has never yet been perfectly imitated; and they make a species of *washing* silk, called at Canton *ponge*, which becomes more soft as it is longer used.

With regard to the *porcelain* of the Chinese, it is indisputably the original from which the similar manufactures of Europe were borrowed. The first porcelain-furnace on record was in Keang-sy, the same province where it is now principally made, about the commencement of the seventh century of our era; but the famous furnaces of *King-tĕ-chin*, just to the eastward of the Poyang lake, were not established until about A.D. 1000. In the progress of the last embassy through the country, we observed that the largest quantities of porcelain were exhibited for sale at Nânchang-foo, just to the southward of the lake, from whence there is a water communication with *King-tĕ-chin*. The Chinese have a printed history of the furnaces at this place, contained in four volumes; but the main difficulty, in a translation, would be to identify

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the various substances used in the manufacture with the names by which they are distinguished in the original work. It is well known that the chief merit of the Chinese ware consists in its hardness, in the fineness of the fracture, and in the resistance which it offers to heat without cracking. The better kinds have never yet been surpassed in point of *substance;* but as regards the painting and gilding, they must yield to the productions of England and the continent.

The principal ingredients employed in the manufacture of the porcelain of China have been pretty well ascertained. It was soon discovered that the *Kao-lin*, mentioned by Père Dentrecolles in Du Halde, was the felspar clay, or porcelain earth of Europe. The neighbourhood of the Poyang lake was observed, by our embassies, to abound in those disintegrating granite rocks which supply the largest quantity of that material. The detailed account of the manufacture by Dentrecolles was calculated to convey little information regarding the real substances used by the Chinese; but some specimens of the various materials, which were subsequently sent to France from China, enabled our neighbours to imitate the ware, and establish the commencement of the manufacture. It has been satisfactorily shown by Marsden, that the word porcelain, or *porcellana*, was applied by Europeans to the ware of China, from the resemblance of its fine polished surface to that of the univalve shell so named; while the shell itself derived its appellation from the curved or gibbous shape of its upper surface, which was thought to resemble the raised back of a *porcella*, or little hog.*

Silica and alumine, or flint and clay, being the principal constituents of all chinaware, the *Kao-lin* of Dentrecolles is the clay, and the *pĕ-tun-tse* is the silica. The following facts are pretty well ascertained from the Chinese. They state that Kao-lin, or, more cor-

* Marco Polo, p. 428, Note

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rectly, *Kaou-ling*, which means "lofty ridge" (probably where the granite is most exposed to disintegration), is mixed with small shining particles, meaning the *mica*, with which it naturally abounds. Of the *pĕ-tun-tse*, they observe that it is white, hard, and with a smooth surface. The former material is said to require less labour than the latter, or, in other words, it is a soft clay, while the latter is a very hard and stony substance. The Kaou-ling is dug from the mountain, "wherever the outer surface of the earth is of a reddish colour, and abounds with shining particles." The *pĕ-tun-tse* is pounded with difficulty in mortars, the pestles of which are worked by a stream, and the powder being reduced to a fine paste by mixture with water, it is made up into cakes fit for use, and sold to the manufacturers. The Chinese say that the former material derives strength from the latter, which is obtained from the hardest rocks. Another substance used by them is *hua-shĕ*, "slippery stone," which is steatite or soap stone; and a fourth is *shĕ-kaou*, alabaster or gypsum, which they say is used in the painting process after it is burnt. On approaching the neighbourhood of *King-tĕ-chin* from the eastward, the late Sir George Staunton observed several excavations, made in extracting from the sides of the adjoining hills the *pĕ-tun-tse*. He says it was a species of fine granite, in which the *quartz* (or silica) *bore the largest proportion*. He afterwards remarked some quarries, out of which were dug stones beautifully white and shining; they consisted, he says, of *quartz in its purest state*. There can be no doubt, therefore, respecting the two principal ingredients of Chinese porcelain. It would seem that Kaou-ling is the "growan clay," and *pĕ-tun-tse* the "growan stone" of Cornwall; and the granite mountains by which the Poyang lake is surrounded afford an abundance of both those materials. There is another manufactory at *Chaou-king-foo*, to the west of Canton, which supplies the limited demand of the European and Indian trade; but it is greatly inferior in reputation to King-tĕ-chin.

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The vitreous glaze of Chinese porcelain is obtained by the union of the pounded *pĕ-tun-tse*, or silica, with the ashes of fern, abounding on the same steep hills that afford the other materials. The glassy combination of flint and alkali, called by chemists a *silicate*, is well known to give to porcelain its polished surface. The Chinese call this "varnish" or "oil," with an allusion to their lackered or japanned ware. In proof of the difficulty of acquiring any real information from the descriptions of Dentrecolles, we may quote his odd observation, that "this oil or varnish is got from a very hard stone, which is not very surprising, since it is stated that stones are formed of the *salts* and *oils* of the earth." This was written more than a hundred years since, and seems to mean the combination of the powdered quartz with the alkali in the formation of the glaze.

In the third part of Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, under the head of "porcelain," are some extracts from the history of the furnaces at King-tĕ-chin. It is observed that *Kaou-ling* is the name of a hill on the east side of the place of manufacture, and that the earth procured from thence was the property of four different families, whose names were therefore stamped on the cakes of the material. The best *pĕ-tun-tse* is obtained near *Hoey-chow*, in the adjoining province of Keang-nân. It is pounded with pestles, which are worked by means of cogged wheels, turned by a mountain-stream. After pounding the stone, they reduce it to a nearly impalpable powder by suspension, and subsequent settlement, in water; after which they mould it into bricks and sell it to the people at the potteries. The government of China, for more than a thousand years past, has paid much attention to the manufacture of porcelain, and especially to that at *King-tĕ-chin*, which pertains to the chief city Jaou-chow-foo. The emperor Kien-loong sent a person from Peking to make drawings of the whole process in its details.

In a voluminous Chinese work, the subjects of these drawings, which were twenty in number, are described

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at length. They commence with the process of procuring the materials and making the paste. Then is represented the business of preparing the ashes for the glazing, and mixing them with the silica, so as to form a thickish liquid. Earthen cases are provided in which to bake the ware, the round portions of which are turned on a lathe, and the others made in a mould. The subject of another picture is the selection of the "blue material," which is supposed to be cobalt. After being turned on a lathe, or formed by a mould, the unburnt *biscuit* (as workmen call it) is finished by smoothing and paring off all inequalities by the hand, the bits taken off being pounded and worked to a milky consistence, to be used by the painters. In painting the ware, one set of people design the outline, and another fill in the colours; and the Chinese say that this division of labour is to "concentrate the workman's hand, and not divide his mind." It is said that, previous to baking, the same specimen of ware passes through twenty hands, and that, before being sold, it has gone through more than double that number. The pictures proceed to represent the baking of the ware in open and in close furnaces, and, when it is completed, the process of binding it with straw, and packing it in tubs for sale.

The whole series of drawings concludes with the ceremony of sacrificing and giving thanks to the god of the furnaces; and this god, according to Dentrecolles, owed his origin to the difficulties encountered by the workmen in executing some orders from Peking, on account of the emperor. Several models were sent from thence, of a shape and size which defied all the efforts of the people to imitate them; and, though representations were made to that effect, these served only to increase his majesty's desire to possess the specimens required. With a view to meet the emperor's inclination, much money and labour were spent, and both rewards and punishments held out to the people employed, but all in vain; when one of the workmen, reduced to despair by the result of his

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unavailing efforts, threw himself into the red-hot furnace, and was instantly consumed. The story says that the specimens then baking came out perfectly fine and conformable to the model, and from that time hence the unfortunate victim passed for a divinity, becoming the god of the furnaces.

In connexion with the subject of Chinese porcelain it remains to mention a curious discovery lately made in Egypt. In a note to an article of the Quarterly Review on *Egypt and Thebes*,* it is remarked,—"Signor Rosellini showed the other day to a friend of ours at Florence a sort of smelling-bottle, evidently of *Chinese porcelain*, and with characters to all appearance Chinese! This was found by Rosellini himself in a tomb, which, as far as could be ascertained, had not been opened since the days of the Pharaohs." Three of the same little bottles, which were also discovered in Egypt, and brought home by Lord Prudhoe and by Sir G. Wilkinson, have been examined by the writer of these pages, who can vouch for their being *identical* in shape and appearance (though not in the fineness of the porcelain) with the smelling and snuff-bottles manufactured at this day by the Chinese. It so happened that he had in his possession a real Chinese bottle of recent manufacture, and it corresponded so closely in size and shape with the bottles found in the Egyptian tombs, that he presented it to the owner of two of them, that it might be associated with its ancient likenesses. The following is the substance of the information relating to the antique bottles from Egypt.

In journeying up the Nile, looking out for antiquities, the travellers stopped at Coptos. A Fellah offered for sale two bottles nearly alike in inscription, and of the same form. They were both purchased, and with them a fragment of a statue without an inscription, but which in workmanship was of the later dynasties. At Coptos are temples of the earlier dy-

* No. cv., February, 1835.

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nasties (Thothmes III., who probably reigned about Joseph's time), down as late as the Roman Cæsars; but all the antiquities of smaller dimensions there purchased appear to have been of the later Egyptian dynasties—say about the time of Psammeticus. Sir G. Wilkinson gave one of these bottles to the British Museum; another, in the possession of Mr. Pettigrew, has been kindly furnished to the author, that a fac-simile might be prepared for this work.

[Porcelain Bottle, from Egyptian Tombs.]

The size is identical with the original. The whole, with the exception of the two *white sides*, is of a light-green colour, similar to that with which the Chinese frequently paint the ground of their porcelain vessels; often the *insides* of them. The sketch of some vegetable production is slightly executed on one side of the bottle; the stalk and leaves have the appearance of a drawing in Indian ink, being of a pale watery black, and the flower is of light red. The style of this slight sketch is precisely Chinese. On the reverse side

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are five characters—*ming*, *yue*, *soong*, *choong*, *chaou*, being a line of five words taken from a poem, and having this meaning, "the bright moon shines amidst the firs." The interior of the bottle contained a small quantity of a black and nearly impalpable powder, which had a carbonized appearance, stated by Sir G. Wilkinson to be the collyrium with which the Egyptian women stained their eyelids. This strange relic, had it been met with in China, would have excited little notice, being so like other bottles of the same shape and size actually in use; but its ascertained discovery in an *Egyptian tomb* is a matter for endless speculation.

The *lackered* or varnished ware of the Chinese, though by their own admission inferior to that of Japan, is occasionally, in the hands of the best workmen, a beautiful manufacture. It varies, however, from the polished jetty surface of the magnificent folding-screens, sometimes brought home to this country, down to the articles of daily use made for the Chinese themselves, in the shape of tubs, trays, and wash-hand basins, with the ornamental parts of their buildings. These coarser varieties are derived from the nuts or seeds of the Dryandra cordata, while the finer kind is obtained from the gum of a species of Rhus. The chief expense of the manufacture arises from the care with which the consistence of the varnish must be regulated in laying it on, and the number of repetitions required in the finer kinds of ware, of which each successive coat must be allowed a considerable time to dry before it is again touched. When first introduced to Europe, this manufacture was highly appreciated, and the export from Canton considerable; but the improvements in our own productions have reduced the quantity now in demand to something very small.

The native ingenuity of the Chinese, to which themselves and the rest of the world have apparently been indebted for so many important and useful inventions, has been recorded by the late Sir George Staunton, on occasions when their efforts were required by the

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embassy. "Two of them (says he) took down the two magnificent glass lustres sent as presents to the emperor, in order to place them in a more advantageous position. They separated them piece by piece, and put them again together in a short time without difficulty or mistake, the whole consisting of many thousand minute pieces, though they had never seen anything of the kind before. Another Chinese cut a narrow slip from the edge of a curved plate of glass, in order to supply the place of one belonging to the dome of the Planetarium, which had been broken in the carriage. The English mechanics belonging to the embassy had in vain attempted to cut the glass according to this curved line, with the assistance of a diamond. The native workman did not show his method; but it was said that he succeeded by first drawing the point of a heated iron across the surface to be divided."*

As relates to the fine arts, or those which minister rather to the pleasures than to the wants of mankind, it becomes necessary to make some allowances for the peculiarities of national taste, which has generally been admitted to be the most conventional and capricious thing in the world, being determined by the infinite varieties of national character, models, and associations. The arts of drawing and painting do not rank so high among the Chinese as among ourselves in Europe, and, having therefore met with less encouragement, they may be expected to have made less progress. In works that do not require a scientific adherence to the rules of perspective, they are sometimes very successful. They paint insects, birds, fruits, and flowers, very beautifully, and nothing can exceed the splendour and variety of their colours. Native artists have often been employed at Canton and Macao, by English naturalists, in delineating various specimens in botany and zoology; and under proper direction they have been found capable of

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 288.

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giving a correct and scientific representation of the various objects, as well as a brilliant and well-coloured drawing. One thing in our European art they do not *fully* enter into, which is *shading;* and they positively object to the introduction of shadows in painting. Mr. Barrow states, "When several portraits by the best European artists, intended as presents for the emperor, were exposed to view, the mandarins, observing the variety of tints occasioned by the light and shade, asked whether the originals had the right and left sides of the figure of different colours? They considered the shadow of the nose as a great imperfection in the figure, and some supposed it to have been placed there *by accident.*"

Though the Chinese certainly do not practise the art of perspective in its correctness, or according to any regular rules, it would be a mistake to suppose that it is always entirely neglected. Their artists, at Canton at least, have taken hints from European performances in this respect, and their drawings by the eye are often tolerably correct as to perspective, though light and shade are still neglected. The woodcuts in Chinese books are generally executed almost entirely in outline, which is occasionally very spirited as well as faithful. The drawings which they chiefly value among themselves are in water-colours and Indian ink, sketched in a very slight manner upon either fine paper or silk. A favourite subject with them is the bamboo, which is represented in all the different stages of its growth, from the tender shoot, just appearing above the earth (when they use it for food, as we do asparagus), up to the period of its producing its grass-like flowers and seeds.

In connexion with drawing and the imitative arts, we may observe that the Chinese style of ornamental gardening, and of laying out pleasure-grounds, has been very much over-drawn by Sir William Chambers, in an essay on that subject, which may be considered quite as a work of imagination in itself. Mr. Barrow, however, who resided for a considerable

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time at *Yuen-ming-yuen*, "the garden of perpetual brightness," which is an extensive pleasure-ground of the emperor, lying north-west of Peking, and greatly exceeding Richmond Park in extent, has given a favourable account of their taste in this department of the arts. "The grand and agreeable parts of nature (he observes) were separated, connected, or arranged, in so judicious a manner as to compose one whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning jumble of objects; but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the roots, were to be found anywhere in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper disposition of the objects intended to embellish its surface; for this purpose tall and luxuriant trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and in general the ground was terminated by broken and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied, as well by the different species of trees in the group, as by the different times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either originally found, or designedly collected upon the spot.

"The effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well understood by the Chinese. At Yuen-ming-yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colour

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ing of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly for the most part placed on elevated situations."

In sculpture, understood as the art of cutting stone into imitative forms of living objects, the Chinese are extremely defective. Their backwardness in this, as well as in other branches of the fine arts, has been justly ascribed to the little communication they have with other nations, and the want of encouragement at home, founded on the policy and practice of discountenancing *luxury* and promoting *labour*, particularly that which is employed in producing food for man. Their sculptured figures in stone are altogether uncouth in form and proportion; but their deficiency in this respect is in some degree made up by a very considerable share of skill in *modelling* with soft materials. For this reason it is that their gods are never represented in stone, but in modelled clay. No great anatomical skill is called for on these occasions, as the figures are always pretty fully clothed, and exhibit no such specimens of nudity as abound in the Grecian Pantheon. Still the drapery is generally executed with remarkable truth and effect, and this feature often drew the attention of those who composed our embassies, in their visits to the various temples which occurred in the route.

It remains only to say a few words relative to the Chinese art of music. On this point Mr. Hüttner, who was attached to Lord Macartney's mission, was of opinion that "their gamut was such as Europeans would call imperfect, their keys being inconsistent, that is, wandering from flats to sharps, and inversely, except when directed by a bell struck to sound the proper notes. The Chinese, in playing on instruments, discovered no knowledge of semitones, nor did they seem to have any idea of counterpoint, or parts in

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music. There was always one melody, however great the number of performers; though, in a few instances, some of the instruments played in the lower octave, while the rest continued in the upper, and thus approached to harmony." Their instruments are mostly tuned in unison, and they have little or no idea of accompaniments. The antiquity of music in China is proved by its being frequently mentioned by Confucius himself, and the encouragement which he gives to its cultivation might have been expected, in the course of time, to produce something better than the imperfect art which now exists there. They have certain characters to express the name of every note in their very limited scale. These they use in writing down their airs; but whether this mode of notation is indigenous, or whether they obtained it from the Jesuits, is doubtful. It is indeed stated that the Emperor Kâng-hy was much surprised when P. Pereira pricked down the Chinese tunes as they were played, and repeated them afterwards.

Their instruments are very numerous, consisting of different species of lutes and guitars; several flutes and other wind-instruments; a squeaking fiddle with three strings; a sort of harmonicon of wires, touched with two slender slips of bamboo; systems of bells and pieces of sonorous metal; and drums covered with snake-skin. In lieu of catgut, they string their instruments with silk and wire. Many of the Chinese have a ready ear for music, though accompanied by such a bad national taste. The magistrate of the Macao district was on a visit to the writer of this, when the piano being touched with a Chinese air, of which the music is given in Barrow's Travels, he immediately turned with a look of pleased surprise, and named the tune.

Among the Chinese instruments we must not forget to mention one which emits, as nearly as posible, the tones of the Scottish bagpipe, without the buzzing sound that is produced by what is called the *drone* of the latter. The melody of the Chinese and Caledo-

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nian pipes is so exactly similar, that it has never failed to excite the attention of the Scotch who have visited China; and indeed the recognition has been mutual, for when a Highland piper (who had been taken out in an Indiaman) was sent up to Canton to attend a meeting of the sons of St. Andrew on the national anniversary, the Chinese were no less struck with the picturesque costume of the plaided Gael than ravished by the strains which proceeded from his instrument. It may be hoped that, in this respect, they evinced a more correct taste than was displayed by one of the sailors on board the same ship with the Highlander. It was on some occasion when the latter, with pistol and dirk at his side, was parading the deck with his pipes, that the unlucky Jack, tempted by the mere spirit of mischief, or willing to lower the *inflation* of his Scottish shipmate, snatched up a young pig, and, placing it between his right arm and his side, squeezed the poor animal until it emitted sounds as loud at least, if not as musical, as those of the instrument which it thus unconsciously burlesqued. The action was so irresistibly comic, that shouts of laughter echoed through the ship; and the piper would have been provoked to take summary vengeance on the author of the jest, had he not been prevented by the interference of the by-standers.

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CHAPTER XIX.

SCIENCES.

THE Chinese profess to make a general distribution of human knowledge under the three heads of "Heaven, Earth, and Man," and this may appear to some readers to be not altogether unlike the three-fold division proposed by Lord Bacon, of "God, Nature, and Man." A well-known encyclopædia, in sixty-four volumes, called *San-tsae-too-hoey*, which dates about the end of the sixteenth century, consists of wood-cuts, illustrated by letter-press, in the three departments above stated. This work, however, having been the compilation of one person only, and consisting chiefly of plates, is superficial even for the Chinese, and does not contain a full account of their science, such as it is. The character of the book may be partly gathered from the following account of its contents and method of arrangement. Under the head of *Heaven*, of course comes astronomy, and this includes something of what was learned from the Arabians and Europeans. The department of *Earth* includes principally their imperfect notions of geography. The third division, that of *Man*, is by far the most copious. It contains representations of persons famous in history, and of different tribes of men. Then is introduced the subject of the Chinese cycle (which rather belongs to the first department), and of the numerical combinations of Fo-hy. Next come buildings; furniture; implements used in husbandry, manufactures, and the arts of peace; arms and warlike weapons; wood-cuts in anatomy; costumes; games of skill, specimens of ancient inscriptions; botany and natural history, as ap-

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plicable to medicine; active sports and exercises; specimens of coins and money.

The actual state of the sciences in China may perhaps be ranked with their condition in Europe some time previous to the adoption of the inductive method in philosophy. The constitutional ingenuity and industry of the people has led them to fall upon various practical results, in spite, as it would seem, of a feature in their character and habits which is opposed to the progress of knowledge. They profess to set no value on *abstract* science, apart from some obvious and immediate end of utility. Among ourselves, the practical *application* of scientific discoveries is sometimes long subsequent to the discoveries themselves, which might perhaps never have been made, had not science been followed up through its by-paths for its own sake merely, or with a very remote view to utility in practice. The Chinese always estimate such matters by their immediate and apparent *cui bono*. Dr. Abel relates, that after satisfying a mandarin in reply to his questions concerning some of our useful manufactures, he took occasion to mention that we had metals which on coming in contact with water burst into flame. "I had some potassium with me (he adds), and was desirous of showing its properties to him. He immediately inquired concerning its *uses*, and when these could not be very satisfactorily explained to him, looked too contemptuously to induce me to venture an experiment." And yet this discovery of the metallic base of *potash* was one result of the investigations of Sir Humphry Davy, whose practical applications of his scientific discoveries to useful and beneficial purposes were of such inestimable value and importance.

A surprising enumeration might be made of instances in which the Chinese appear to have stumbled by mere chance upon useful inventions, without the previous possession of any scientific clue. Cases, however, occur in which it may be fairly suspected that they were indebted to the European missionaries.

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Without knowing anything, for instance, of that theory of optics which treats of the convergence and divergence of rays of light by lenses of different shapes, they use both convex and concave glasses, or rather crystals, to assist their sight. We noticed in the last chapter that they possess glass in a very coarse and inferior state, and that at Canton they sometimes melt down broken glass from Europe. In spectacles, however, the want is supplied, all over the empire, by the use of rock crystal. This is ground with the powder of corundum; and if anything could prove the Chinese spectacles to be original inventions, or not borrowed from Europe, it would be their very singular size and shape, as well as the strange way of putting them on. The annexed cut represents a pair of these primitive optics, slung over the ears with silken strings and weights, and imparting by their immense size a most sapient appearance to the wearer.

For checking the glare of the sun, they make use of a mineral which they call *Cha-shĕ*, or "tea-stone,"

[Spectacles.]

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from the resemblance of its transparent hue to a weak infusion of black tea. This, in all probability, is a smoky quartz, or silex, allied to the *cairngorum* of Scotland. In some instances the Chinese have been known to attempt slavish copies of European telescopes; but a little science became requisite in the construction of instruments consisting of compound lenses, and they accordingly failed. When, however, a few specimens of Sir David Brewster's optical toy, the kaleidoscope, first reached Canton, these were easily imitated. The Chinese became exceedingly taken with them; vast numbers were immediately manufactured on the spot, and sent up the country, under the appropriate name of *Wân-huâ-tung*, or "tubes of ten thousand flowers."

The jargon employed in their pseudo-science, and the singular resemblance which this bears to the condition of physical knowledge, not very long ago, even in our own country, is deserving of some remark. It is pretty generally known that, within a comparatively recent period of our history, the sciences of medicine and astrology were very gravely combined. A rather handsome monument in Mortlake churchyard, dated as late as 1715, bears a Latin inscription to the memory of "John Partridge, Astrologer and Doctor of Medicine, who made physic for two kings and one queen, to wit, Charles II., William III., and Queen Mary." It was the deplorable condition of the healing art about or a little before that period, in France, also, that exposed it to the unmerciful ridicule of Molière. It is likely that most readers may not have fallen in with a thick quarto volume, dated 1647, and entitled 'A modest Treatise of Astrologie, by William Lilly.'* The work is dedicated to Bolstrod Whitlock,

* The person ridiculed by Butler under the name of Sidrophel, who is made to defend his art in the following convincing manner:—

"Is it not ominous in all countries
When crows and ravens croak upon trees?
The Roman senate, when within
The city walls an owl was seen,

Did

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Esq., Member of Parliament, and among other matter contains "Astrologicall aphorisms beneficiall for Physicians;"—as, "He that first enters upon a cure in the hour of Mars shall find his patient disaffected to him, and partly disdain and reject his medicines, his pains ill-rewarded, and his person slighted." In the same work are expounded the supposed connexions between the several planets and the parts of the body: "He will be infinitely oppressed (says this learned Theban) who in the hour of Mars shall first get an *hot* disease, and in the hour of Saturne a *cold* one;"—"When Jupiter is author of the sicknesse, he demonstrates ill-affection of the liver;"—"Mars being the cause of a feaver, and in Leo, shows ebolition or a boyling of the humours, continuall burning feavers, whose originall cause springs from the great veines near the *heart*."*

Compare this with the following scheme of Chinese physics, on which are based all their medical as well as other theories, and in which will be perceived precisely the same relations as those noticed in the foregoing quotations from Lilly.

CHINESE SCHEME OF PHYSICS.

Five Planets.	Five Viscera.	Five Elements.	Five Colours.	Five Tastes.
Saturn	Stomach	Earth	Yellow	Sweet
Jupiter	Liver	Wood	Green	Sour
Mars	Heart	Fire	Red	Bitter
Venus	Lungs	Metal	White	Pungent
Mercury	Kidneys	Water	Black	Salt

Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
(By 'r synod call'd humiliations,)
The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert
From doing town and country hurt:
And if an *owl* have so much power,
Why should not *planets* have much more?" &c.

* They have also some vague notions of the humoral patho-

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In treating of the planets and their significations, "Saturne (quoth Lilly) is cold and dry, melancholic, *earthly*;" "Jupiter governeth all infirmities in the *liver*; of colours, sea-green or blew, a mixt yellow or *green*;" "Mars, in nature hot and dry, he delighteth in *red* colour, and in those savours which are *bitter*, sharp, and burn the tongue;" "Venus, in colours she signifieth *white*;" "Mercury, in the elements he is the *water*." All this looks very much as if the philosophy of our forefathers had been derived intermediately from China; and it is this easy plan of *systematizing without experiment*, that has kept the latter country in the dark, and infested every department of its physical knowledge; while the inductive philosophy recommended in the *Novum Organon* of Bacon has done such wonders in Europe. As a specimen of Chinese reasoning, nothing can well be imagined more silly than the following:—"The upper half of the body partakes of the *Yâng*, and the nature of the heaven, and the medicines suited to that part of the body are the heads of plants; the body of the plant is for diseases of the middle," &c.

And yet when they condescend to abandon their theories, and to be guided by observation and common sense, they can occasionally talk very differently. Dentrecolles translated a medical treatise composed by a Chinese practitioner, and called *Châng-seng*, or "long life," being in fact an essay on diet and regimen. This, as it proceeds entirely on the personal experience of the individual, really contains something that is both true and useful.* Among us, such

logy, long since exploded in this country, but alluded to in the above extracts. "They talk (as Dr. Abel correctly states) of ulcers being outlets to noxious matter, and divide diseases and remedies into two classes, *hot* and *cold*, depending greatly on purgatives for driving out the heat of the body."

* The author is glad to find his opinion confirmed by that of Mr. Herbert Mayo, who observes, in reference to some portions of this treatise—"In substance they are excellent."—*Philosophy of Living*, p. 171.

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a work might be arranged under the four heads of Air, Exercise, Diet, and the Passions. Our Chinese author has likewise chosen four heads, but calls them "the Passions, Diet, the Actions of the Day, and the Rest at Night," comprising, however, much that is the same in reality under different names. They have a high notion of the value of sleep; and their maxim is, that "one sleepless night cannot be compensated by ten nights of sleep."

As remarked by Dr. Abel, the drug-shops of the Chinese contain an immense list of simples, a few gums, and some minerals. These are sold in small packets, each containing a dose enveloped in a wrapper, which describes the use of the medicine. Chinese doctors paste up and distribute hand-bills in the same manner with the lower walks of the faculty among us, and generally with reference to the same diseases. The druggists' shops are remarkable for their superior cleanliness, and not unlike those of Europe in the arrangement of the drawers, jars, &c. It is well known that the most considerable work on Chinese materia medica is the famous *Pun-tsaou*, or Herbal, which is not confined to botany merely, as its name might imply, but extends to the animal and mineral kingdoms also. At the head of all remedies stands *ginseng*, which used once to be sold for eight times its weight in silver. Tea, in various modes of preparation, is much valued as a medicine; and different parts of rare animals are included in the list, with the reputation of properties as multifarious and inconsistent as the pills of a London quack.

In some instances, they show a whimsical preference to one substance over another, which apparently possesses exactly the same nature and qualities. From the *laurus camphora*, a large timber tree, which grows plentifully in their own country, they obtain easily and cheaply vast quantities of camphor, which is sold as low as a few pence the pound. Instead of this, however, they use in medicine a species which is imported from Sumatra and Borneo, in very small

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fragments about the size of a pea, picked in a crystallized state from the interior of the *dryobalanops camphora*, and sold at Canton for a price which is equivalent to 4*l.* sterling the pound weight. As a drastic medicine, the *pa-tow* (croton tiglium) is used in combination with rhubarb. Among the most effectual means for the alleviation or removal of local pain, they reckon the application of the moxa, or actual cautery. This moxa is prepared by bruising the stems of an artemisia, called *gae-tsaou*, in a mortar, and then selecting the most downy fibres. These, being set on fire upon the part affected, are said to consume rapidly without producing any severe pain. The fibre of the artemisia is also used by the Chinese as tinder for lighting their pipes, being previously steeped in a solution of nitre, and fired, either by means of a flint and steel, or a small burning-glass; which last expedient the mandarins in the embassy sometimes displayed to us with much ostentation, as something that should astound our ignorance.

Sir William Temple, in his works,* has left a paper on the use of the moxa, proving that remedy to have effectually cured him of a fit of the gout. He met with it in Holland while residing as minister at the Hague, where a friend told him, "it was a certain kind of moss that grew in the *East Indies;* that their way was, whenever anybody fell into a fit of the gout, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a figure, broad at bottom as a two-pence, and pointed at top: to set the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed; then with a small round perfumed match (made likewise in the Indies) to give fire to the top of the moss; which, burning down by degrees, came at length to the skin and burned it, till the moss was consumed to ashes."

From this description, and the statement that the

* Vol. iii. p. 254.

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remedy came direct from Batavia, it is plain that the Dutch obtained it in their intercourse with China, either from Canton or Fokien.

A physician whom Dr. Abel saw at Canton was entirely destitute of anatomical knowledge. He appeared to be aware that there were such viscera as the heart, lungs, and liver, but had no notion of their real situation, or, like the "doctor against his will" in Molière, placed them on the wrong sides of the body. Still he appeared not to be ignorant through choice, as he eagerly examined some anatomical plates from the factory library, declaring that such delineations on a large scale would be a most valuable acquisition.* We must observe, however, that though they never either dissect or practise amputation (except that of the head),† and are consequently ignorant of the structure and functions of the vital organs, they have a tolerable acquaintance with *osteology*, or the knowledge of the skeleton.‡ The importance which they attach to the remains of their deceased relatives is such, that on a change of abode, or for some other reason, they often disinter the bones, and place them in a jar for removal. On an occasion of the kind, the writer of this once stood by an old man while he was taking out one by one, and with the utmost solemnity, the loose bones from a decayed coffin; and, as he placed them separately in the jar, he made an exact inventory on a slip of paper, giving to each its

* Dr. Abel observes of this person, that though ignorant of all rational principles of practice, he had arrived at some rules of high utility, distinguishing between local diseases which can be cured by mere topical applications, and those to be acted on only through the medium of the constitution.

† The punishment of cutting into pieces, as the Europeans at Canton call it, is known to consist of a few mortal cuts and stabs, after tying the criminal to a post.

‡ To a certain extent they are phrenologists, and have some faith in the external indications of the skull. They look for the principal characteristics of a man in his forehead, and of a woman in the back part of the cranium.

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proper name, that none might be omitted. The skull was put in last, and crowned this pious work; nor was a bone omitted, even to the phalanges of the hands and feet.

The Chinese occasionally practise a species of forensic medicine, to ascertain from *external* indications the mode in which any person came by his death. A lad had one day been found dead in a house not far from the factories at Canton, and, as it was suspected that violence had occasioned his death, the magistrate instituted his court near to the spot. The several parties implicated or suspected were brought before him and examined, some of them with torture. The body being extended upon boards, a quantity of mash, composed of some grain in a boiling hot state, was laid over it. After a time this was removed, and from the appearance of the skin and muscles they appeared to form a judgment as to the cause of the individual's death. It is needless to remark in how very few cases this superficial mode of examination could be of any use in ascertaining the multiform ways in which life may be extinguished.

Some noteable instances of the ignorance of Chinese physicians are recorded by the late Sir George Staunton,* from the experience of Dr. Gillan, when he was called in to prescribe for the chief minister Hochoong-tâng. A completely-formed hernia had been mistaken by the native Sangrados for what they called "an accumulation of noxious vapour," to get rid of which the puncture of the part had been recommended. Luckily for the patient, he had resisted this practice, being perhaps unwilling to subscribe to the maxim of the doctor in the play, "qu'il faut mourir selon les règles." Another instance is mentioned in the same work. One of Lord Macartney's suite, labouring under a dysentery on the road between Peking and Tartary, was induced in evil hour to con-

* Embassy, vol. ii.

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sult a native physician. The practitioner, after dilating on the doctrine of the pulse, and delivering a discourse on hot and cold humours, pronounced that the patient laboured under the *latter;* and, by way of warming him, administered strong doses of pepper, cardamoms, and ginger, taken in distilled spirit. The individual escaped alive with some difficulty.

When a physician has been unsuccessful, he retires with the common Chinese adage, "that there is medicine for sickness, but none for fate." The low state of the art may partly be explained by the small consideration in which the profession is held, and by there being no public schools of medicine, nor any way of acquiring their limited knowledge, except by engaging with some person already in practice. That they occasionally gain considerable reputation and profit seems clear from the success of a fashionable doctor at Canton, of whom there is some account in the Chinese Repository,* and who rose from the condition of a mere hawker of drugs to be the medical oracle of the neighbourhood. His house is opened early in the morning to patients who call, and these are ushered into his presence one by one. At a regular hour he sallies out to see those who send for him to their houses, and receives what they choose to give him. He is a man of few words, and either will not, or cannot, explain the operation of his prescriptions; but people are said very generally to get well under his care. An instance was known at Canton of an English gentleman of some attainments, who, finding that his health did not improve in the hands of his own countrymen, actually sent for a Chinese doctor, and declared that he benefited by his drugs, which were principally simples. There is some sense, at least, in the following cure for opium-smoking, and it may be fairly supposed that the efficacy lies more in the rule for administering the remedy than the remedy itself. The patient is instructed to diminish his quantity of

* Vol. i. p. 343.

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opium daily, and, beginning with a little of the substitute, to increase that every day until the opium is left off altogether; then gradually to diminish the substitute, until that also is altogether disused.

In Du Halde we find about one hundred pages devoted to the Chinese "doctrine of the pulse," which bears on the very face of it the plainest evidence of being a mere mass of solemn quackery, and is avowedly connected with that precious scheme of the five planets, the five viscera, elements, tastes, &c. already given at page 48. Their ignorance of the true secret of the circulation is proved by their imagining that there is a distinct and different pulse in every part of the body. Nay, they pretend to distinguish three on one arm, the first immediately on the *metacarpus*, called "the inch," and two others higher up towards the elbow, called respectively the "bar" and the "cubit;" perhaps referring to the two bones of the fore-arm. These are supposed to be connected with the "five viscera" and the "five elements." In this manner they proceed to distinguish twenty-four different *kinds* of pulse, which, being multiplied by the *places* where they occur, make the whole number of indications too numerous to reckon up.

They do not even know the distinction between arteries and veins, and certainly not a syllable of the function of the lungs in oxygenizing the blood, and getting rid of its superfluous carbon. Of the existence of certain sympathies between the different viscera, and of derangement being communicated to one by the disorders of another, they might seem to have some glimmering, and to express it strangely by calling the heart "the husband," and the lungs "the wife," &c. Without the practice of dissection, it would be singular indeed if they *did* know much; and both law and prejudice put that out of the question. We may remember that even in this country, it is but a very short period since dissection was legalized on any scale; before which a surgeon was punishable at one and the same time for not knowing his profes-

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sion, and for trying to learn it in the only effectual manner.

The Chinese physiologists expressly call man a *Seaou Tien-ty*, a "little universe, or microcosm," and they extend to this the same doctrine of the *Yin* and *Yáng*, or of the dual principle, which has been mentioned in our twelfth chapter, as originating the existence and maintaining the order and harmony of the natural world. They suppose that on a due proportion between these, or between *strength* and *weakness*, *heat* and *cold*, *dry* and *moist*, &c., consists the health of the human body; and that different degrees of excess or defect produce disease, and ultimately death. There is a great pretension to harmony and consistency throughout their whole system of physics, which perhaps might be called *beautiful*, were it only *true*, and based upon something better than empty speculation. If it is often unintelligible, or a mere arrangement of words without ideas, this renders it to them only the more mysterious and worthy of admiration, for "true no meaning (as Pope says) puzzles more than wit."

Enough has been done for the Chinese at Canton, if open to conviction, to impress them with the value of the medical science of Europe. The small-pox formerly committed dreadful ravages among them. Their mode of inoculation was to place a little of the virus, taken from a former patient, dried and reduced to powder, on cotton-wool, and to insert this in the nostril. It may be inferred, that as blindness is an extremely common occurrence, and a large number in that condition are deeply marked with small-pox, the inflammation caused by the above mode of inoculation occasioned the loss of sight in many cases. But both the small-pox, and that imperfect or injurious mode of guarding against its effects, were destined to yield to the benign influence of vaccination, which was introduced, and ultimately established, by the active and persevering humanity of Mr. Pearson, principal surgeon to the British factory. It finally

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obtained the sanction of the local government; and native vaccinators, who at first operated under the supervision of that gentleman, now practise on all classes.

From the periodical reports, it appears that, in one instance, the benefit which Mr. Pearson thus conferred upon the largest associated population in the world met with singular obstacles in a particular quarter. After having extended to the province of Keang-sy, adjoining Canton to the north-east, it was suddenly dropped there, being opposed by the jealousy of the Budhist priests, who, in that part of China, had a double interest in the *preservation* of the small-pox. In the first place, they were much employed in the business of inoculation after the Chinese method; and, secondly, they were well paid for certain ministrations with their deities* to avert or mitigate the scourge. Thus it was that these worthies, who benefited by the harvest, always wished to leave a little for seed. The breaking out of the scarlet fever unfortunately afforded them plausible ground of crimination against a practice which was said to retain the poison in the system, to appear at a future time in a still worse shape.

The general success, however, of this invaluable remedy is a singular exception to the usual reception which knowledge or improvements meet with in the celestial empire. As a summary of the latest reports of Mr. Pearson, it may be stated that the practice of vaccination has acquired great stability among the Chinese of Canton province, of every condition; that it is known to have been conveyed *again* to Keang-sy, as well as to other provinces; that it even reached Peking, but unfortunately was soon lost there; that its anti-variolous efficacy is universally known and confided in; and that its preservation has resulted

* They have one particular idol, whose name may be construed, "Our Lady of the Small-pox."

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from the well-adapted system pursued, and the agency of the Chinese vaccinators. The principal of these, under the instruction of Mr. Pearson, was a former purveyor to the East India Company at Canton. He was encouraged in his exertions by the favourable opinion of his countrymen, and by marks of distinction conferred on him by the higher functionaries of the local government. From all the evidence obtained, it appears that the practice of vaccination in China, if it fails occasionally, though very unfrequently, in affording a perfect security against the occurrence of the disease, invariably mitigates the severity of small-pox.

Of the progress of the natives in chemistry, as allied to medicine, Mr. Pearson acquired a fuller knowledge than any other European; and as he has very kindly, at the requisition of the writer of this, furnished his own memoranda on the subject, the curious information contained in them is here given. He had long observed that the shops of the Chinese apothecaries were supplied with various preparations of quicksilver, and that they afforded as many resources for medical practice derived from that mineral as those of our own country; but to any inquiries respecting the chemical processes by which they were prepared, he could obtain only vague and incorrect answers; it appearing to be no part of the profession or duty of the vendors to possess knowledge of that kind. Having found a person whose occupation it was to prepare some of them, and to dispose of them to the medicine-shops, Mr. Pearson engaged him to go through the different steps of the processes in his presence, and the operator brought his materials with him. For the preparation of a muriate of quicksilver they were—

	Grains.
Sulphate of iron	940
Sulphate of alumine	920
Nitrate of potash (very impure) . .	900

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	Grains.
Sulphuret of quicksilver	120
Another sulphuret, uncertain (of a yellow colour and finely levigated) .	660
Quicksilver	660
Muriate of soda	920
Sub-borate of soda	930

An apparatus and vessels were readily procured on the spot, his furnace being one of the portable cooking-stoves of baked clay in use among the Chinese; besides an unglazed earthenware dish, of the capacity of about a pound; one of a similar shape, and rather more than double that capacity, of which he had the bottom beaten out; a common flat porcelain plate; and a large earthenware vessel, with some water at the bottom. Having mixed all the ingredients, except the two sulphurets and the quicksilver, he put them into the unglazed earthenware dish. He then strewed the two sulphurets over the contents, and placed the dish upon the furnace, over a few thoroughly-ignited charcoal embers. The whole (except the lump of nitre) being fused in about half an hour, he added the quicksilver, and increased the fire, though still the heat was very moderate. After an hour, and when the materials had fused together and blistered up, he removed the vessel, with a spongy mass adhering to it, from the fire, and inverted it so as to pour out a portion of the quicksilver, which he returned to the vessel and placed it again on the fire. Upon removing it after ten minutes, and finding upon trial that no quicksilver escaped, he inverted it upon the plate, and heaped up common salt all round the sides of the dish, and also over its inverted bottom. Over this he inverted the other (larger) dish with its bottom beat out, so that its rims rested on the edges of the flat plate. Then taking another earthenware dish, he placed it in the large vessel, bottom upwards in the water, so as to serve for a stand; and upon this he put the plate, with the under surface of which the

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water was now in contact, but not rising over its edges. He now heaped more salt upon the bottom of the dish, and filled the interstices between the salt and the outer dish with pieces of ignited charcoal. In half an hour he added more charcoal, and urged the fire by fanning; applying his ear from time to time in order to listen, he said, for a hissing and bubbling. This he watched for, and announced its occurrence with the charlatanerie of an alchemist.

He returned next day, bringing a standard specimen of the substance sought from such a process as he was conducting; and proceeding to remove the charcoal ashes and the salt, he lifted up the inverted dish. The product was collected on the plate, some of it white, some discoloured, and also some quicksilver not at all oxydized; that being removed, the whole muriate was collected, and found to weigh 240 grains. The product bore comparison with the standard preparation very ill, and he said that, in manufacturing the article for sale, he had no other resource on such occasions than a repetition of the process, until he succeeded better than in the present instance. He showed himself to be considerably disappointed by the result of this experiment, and requested to be allowed to repeat it with his own materials, except the nitrate of potash, which was supplied to him. He went through every step of the same process with accurate adherence; and in this instance the experiment succeeded, as from the plate, and those portions of the dish unoccupied by the mixture, two drachms of a white powder, mixed with fine needle-like crystals, were removed with a feather, and by scraping. This approached the standard pretty nearly, and appeared to be altogether as white and pure as any specimens Mr. Pearson had seen from their shops.

In the preparation of the red nitric oxyde of quicksilver, the furnace used by the native operator was the same as before, but his vessel was a cast-iron pan of a size proportioned to it, and of the description and shape which goes by the name of a tatch. Before

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putting the ingredients into it, he allowed this to become thoroughly hot by pieces of burning charcoal placed under it. His ingredients were now—

Sulphate of alumine,
Nitrate of potash,
Quicksilver,—each 1920 grains.

He fused the first by itself, and added to it the nitrate of potash, and then the quicksilver. His fire was now stronger than in the last process, and, after the ingredients had been exposed uncovered to its quick action during a few minutes, the operator inverted a large glazed earthenware bowl over them, of such diameter as to leave about an inch of the edges of the pan beyond its rims. He heaped salt round the sides and over the bottom of the bowl, upon which he placed a brick. When nitrous acid vapours began to come through the salt, he appeared at first disposed to stop their egress by adding fresh salt; after which he paid no further attention to them. By the addition of thoroughly ignited pieces of charcoal, he kept up a considerable degree of heat under the tatch for upwards of two hours, when, having filled the furnace with pieces of charcoal, he said it might be allowed to burn out and the vessels to cool. Next morning, when the brick and salt were removed, the nitric oxyde of quicksilver was found closely adhering to, and crusting the inside of, the bowl. When the whole was scraped off and collected, it weighed 1440 grains.

The process employed in procuring a sulphuric oxyde, as well as another oxyde of quicksilver, Mr. Pearson likewise describes in detail. Of the existence of the mineral acids in an uncombined state he believes them to be wholly ignorant. He mentions another of their mercurial preparations, the only one which they seem ever to administer internally, and which he conceives to be a very general and useful instrument of their medical practice, answering to calomel in ours. Of the process used in preparing

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the same he could obtain no accurate account, as it comes only from the province of Fokien, in small boxes wrapped in a printed paper; it appears in fine flakes of a pearly-white colour. As the Chinese are perfectly acquainted with the mode of oxygenizing quicksilver by triture, it may be supposed that they adopt that form also of administering it. The most prevalent mode, Mr. Pearson believes, is by triturating the mercury with fresh and juicy leaves into a pulp, and until all globules disappear. The leaf in which they wrap up betel for mastication is generally made use of, and, with the addition of some unimportant ingredients, a mass for pills is formed.

It appears, then, that the Chinese are possessed of a variety of active preparations of quicksilver, nearly similar to those which Europeans use; their processes being more cumbrous, unscientific, and uncertain as to the results than ours, and greatly more expensive. Mr. Pearson apprehends, too, that they apply them to nearly the same practical purposes as ourselves; but whether for good or evil must, on account of the state of their medical knowledge, depend more on the experience and good judgment of the individual practitioner than is the case amongst us. With the disease in which the efficacy of mercury is most complete, they as invariably associate the remedial use of, and necessity for recourse to it, as Europeans can possibly do. Upon the whole, Mr. Pearson's inquiries afford a curious proof of similar results attained by the most different and distant nations, possessing very unequal scientific attainments; and they bear no unfavourable testimony to Chinese shrewdness and ingenuity in the existing state of their knowledge.

Although unacquainted with the mechanical *force* to be derived from steam, the great *heat* of that agent under confinement is applied by them in the simplest manner in their daily cookery. Thus *a b* is the vertical section of a large cast-iron pan, which in shape is the segment of a sphere. This holds the water, in which anything may be boiled. Over the boiling

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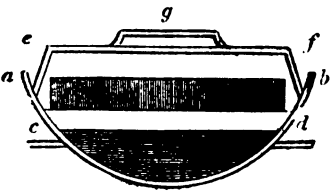
water is placed a slight wooden frame, being an equilateral triangle, supported by its three points against the sides of the iron pan, at the height *c d*. On this



triangle is laid a sieve, containing rice or other vegetables, which are cooked by means of the steam, whose escape is prevented by a wooden cover *e f*, resembling an inverted tub, with a handle to lift it by at *g*.

They perfectly understand the process of distillation, by which they produce their ardent spirits, the best of which resemble whiskey. The grain first undergoes the vinous fermentation in water, which is assisted by the addition of a fermenting substance. In this state the liquor is clarified and used as wine. If the spirit be wanted, the vinous liquor then becomes subjected to the alembic. We may, among other matters, mention their manufacture of the sulphate of iron, as witnessed by Dr. Abel: "a quantity of hepatic iron pyrites, in small pieces, mixed with an equal quantity of coal in the same state, being placed together in a heap, the whole is covered with a coating of lime-plaster. In a short time great action takes place in the mass, accompanied by the extrication of much heat and smoke, which is allowed to go on until it has spontaneously ceased. The heap is then broken up and put into water, which is boiled until considerably reduced in volume, and then evaporated in shallow vessels." Very pure crystals of sulphate are said to be thus produced.

In 1821 Dr. Morrison adopted the idea of establishing near his own house at Macao, with the co-opera-

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tion of Mr. Livingstone, the assistant-surgeon to the British factory, a dispensary for the relief of Chinese patients; and (with a view to obtaining at the same time some knowledge of the native practice) he purchased about eight hundred volumes on their medicine and pharmacopœia, and engaged the attendance of a native doctor at his dispensary. Without applying for *a single subscription* from individuals, hundreds of Chinese were relieved of disease and suffering under various forms, and more than three hundred of these made very grateful acknowledgments for renovated health.* The liberal medical establishment of the East India Company in China being now broken up, the English surgeons subsist on reduced emoluments, and, being no longer able to distribute medicine gratis to strangers, are obliged to send in their apothecaries' bills. The time, besides, which might formerly be devoted to liberal inquiries into the state of medical knowledge in the country, must now be absorbed by the pressing calls of their business.

The account of the native practitioner who attended at Dr. Morrison's dispensary under the observation of Mr. Livingstone, was favourable as to his intelligence and general character. To all those particular cases in which mercury is a specific, he conducted himself with some severity, and generally refused to prescribe for them. This branch of practice, he declared, was commonly declined by the regular members of the Chinese faculty, being in the hands of *barber-surgeons*, who use, externally, a preparation of three ingredients, namely, mercury, arsenic, and what is supposed to be a sublimate of quicksilver in powder. The author of the *Pun-tsaou*, or great work on materia medica, states it to be above a thousand years since mercury, which they call "water-silver" (literally *hydrargyrum*), became famous. One of its most legitimate uses at present is as a vermifuge, or anthelmintic; and it is also used in diseases of the skin arising from the presence of animalculæ.

* Chinese Gleaner, vol. iii. p. 7.

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In addition to the ancient use of mercury in medicine, the Chinese appear to have been acquainted with the sulphate of soda (known in Europe under the name of *Glauber's salt*), about twelve centuries ago. Its notoriety is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance: the reigning emperor heard that there lived somewhere in his dominions a disciple of *Laou-tsze*,* one of those alchemists who for so many centuries had been in search of the *elixir of immortality*—a pursuit which has in China produced effects similar to those resulting from the hunt after the philosopher's stone in Europe. Being of great age, the professor appeared to realize in his own person the virtues of his nostrums, and he was accordingly summoned to court and examined. The alchemist attributed his longevity to the use of the "bright powder of Heuen," as it was called after his own name, just in the way that Glauber's salt was named from its German discoverer. It is valued at present by the Chinese as a cleanser and purifier of the system, in accordance with their doctrine of "hot and cold humours."

Proceed we now from medicine to another subject. In the science of numbers, and in geometry, the Chinese have, as usual, nothing to teach us; being, on the contrary, indebted for a good deal to Europe, as may be seen from the logarithmic tables and other works prepared for the Emperor Kâng-hy by the Jesuits. Their arithmetic, as well as their weights and measures, proceed universally on the decimal scale; and decimal fractions are their *vulgar* fractions, or those in common use. It is remarkable that the single exception to this consists in their *kin*, or marketing pound weight, which, like ours, is divided into sixteen parts. It is most probable that both originated in the facilities afforded by the binary division into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. The sexa-

* Whose sect is described in the fifteenth chapter.

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gesimal division of the great circle was early borrowed by the Chinese from the Arabians, and of course used by the missionaries in the construction of their trigonometrical map of the empire. No algebraic knowledge is to be found in China, while it is certain that the *Hindoo* attainments in algebra were much superior to their astronomical science, and bear, besides, all the features of originality, which the latter does not.

The Chinese numbers are *written* in words at length, that is, unlike the Arabic system of numeration, where the powers of the numbers increase or diminish decimally according to position. This inconvenience is got over, in calculation, by the assistance of a little apparatus called a *Suân-pân*, or "calculating dish," having balls of wood or ivory strung upon wires in separate columns, of which one column represents units, with a decimal increase and diminution to the left and right, as in our system of numeration. Each ball above the longitudinal division of the board represents *five;* and each ball below it stands for *one.* The number represented in the cut is therefore 6817, and, if there were any decimal parts, these would be ranged to the right of the units. At Canton they sometimes write down numbers in abbreviated marks, and place them, like our Arabic figures, in numerical order; but still, in arithmetical operations, the above machine is always used, and seems never to have been superseded. Its chief disadvantage is, that no traces remain of the operation after it is concluded, which, in the event of error, necessitates the work being recommenced *de novo.*

The Chinese books contain a diagram, which in a manner *represents* the mathematical truth enunciated by the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid. This, however, is not demonstrated mathematically (which requires reference to preceding propositions in the same book), but by construction or measurement. In a right-angled triangle, whose sides are as 5, 4, 3,

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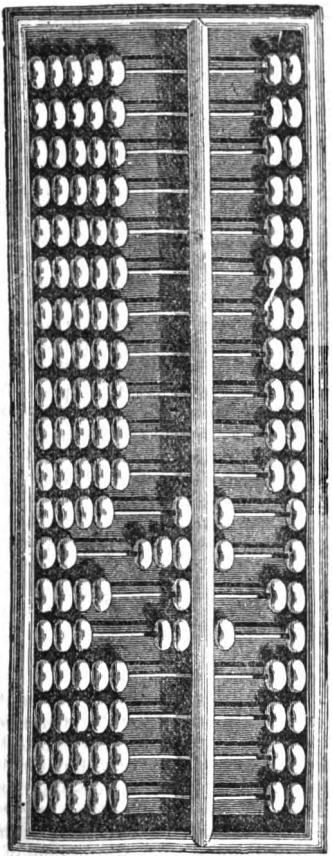

[Chinese Abacus.]

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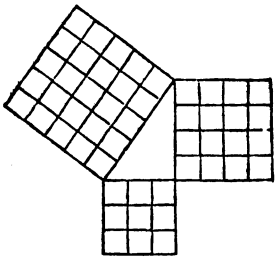
the squares are as 25, 16, and 9; and it is only when the sides are in these *exact* proportions that such a



clumsy sort of proof can be given of the proposition, that "the square of the hypothenuse equals the sum of the squares of the other two sides," or 25=16+9. Mr. Barrow has observed, that the open and closed points connected by lines, and said by the Chinese to have been found on the back of the tortoise, are nothing but representations of the nine digits, placed in such a manner as to count fifteen every way thus:—

2	9	4
7	5	3
6	1	8

Such are the puerile matters that are contained in the ancient and original works of the Chinese. Without geometry, it was impossible for them to have any correct notions of geography; and, but for their liberal and enlightened Emperor Kâng-hy, who availed himself of the aid of the Jesuits, they might even to this day have represented their country as the centre of a circle, studded round with the abodes of the rest

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of mankind. But they have learned to appreciate the maps of the several provinces, and of the whole empire, constructed for them more than a hundred years since by the Europeans at Peking, and copied by them servilely in most particulars, the chief defect being in the execution of minute details. The writer of this has a geographical work taken from wooden blocks, which is sufficiently correct for purposes of ordinary reference. Every province is separately laid down on the spherical projection, with lines of latitude, and meridians of longitude; the former calculated, like ours, from the equator, but the longitude from Peking. Minute accuracy, however, is not at all observed: rivers are represented on a very disproportionate scale, conformably to the Chinese ideas of their importance, serving as they do for the principal high roads of the empire. Everything external to their own country, and Tartary, they seem to be quite indifferent about; and, with the exception of a rough map of the two terrestrial hemispheres, copied from one by the Jesuits, no work on general geography is ever met with.

The missionaries first recommended themselves to the favour of the emperor and his court, by amusing them with a variety of philosophical contrivances of an ingenious nature. In dioptrics and catoptrics, they exhibited the effects produced by various lenses; the artificial rainbows resulting from the transmission of the rays of light through prisms, with their subsequent reflection; the uses of the telescope and the microscope; and, what pleased the ladies of the palace more than anything, they contrived a *camera obscura*, by means of which every object passing outside was made visible on a flat table within the apartments. In hydrostatics and hydraulics, they constructed pumps, siphons, and fountains, some of which were applied to purposes of use or ornament about the emperor's residence. In dialling, too, the Jesuits gave them lessons which they have not yet forgotten, as we often see in their shops a contrivance attached to their

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compass, with which the hour of the day is roughly ascertained, by the shadow of a string that serves as the gnomon of a dial.

But it was in astronomy that the greatest assistance was derived from European science and skill. When Père Verbiest arrived at Peking, he found an Arabian astronomer employed in the construction of the Imperial Almanac. This person was so ignorant of his business, that he had inserted an intercalary month in the current lunar year, when it should have consisted of only twelve lunations. This afforded Verbiest an occasion for proving the superiority of his own science, and having the calendar altered, though with some difficulty, the Chinese being sorely puzzled to know why they should be deprived of a whole month. The Jesuit proved the ignorance of the Arabian by challenging him to calculate, beforehand, the length of the shadow of a gnomon on a particular day at noon. The professor failed altogether, and was succeeded in his office by the missionary, whose calculation proved nicely accurate; and thus the Europeans became established at the head of the Astronomical Board, from which they were dismissed only a few years since. The instruments constructed under the direction of Verbiest, for the imperial observatory at Peking, have been described by Le Compte. They consisted of an armillary sphere, an equinoctial sphere, a celestial globe, an azimuth horizon, and a quadrant and sextant.*

* The work, in one hundred Chinese volumes, composed and translated by Matthew Ricci and other missionaries, by desire of Kâng-hy, is a remarkable production. It is executed in the best style of native books, and being now very scarce and expensive, cannot be procured under sixty or eighty Spanish dollars, which is quite a *fancy price* for a Chinese work. It treats of spherical trigonometry, geometry, astronomy, and music, and contains also tables of logarithms, which were merely turned into native figures, and not calculated by the missionaries. The diagrams in geometry are accurately and neatly cut, and the whole is a very respectable specimen of

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The simple fact, that a people so vain and self-sufficient as the Chinese should have adopted the science to foreigners, and raised the professors of that science of considerable dignities—that they should have deviated, on a point of such consequence, from their established prejudices and maxims—sufficiently proves that they had little science of their own. It is true that Confucius recorded thirty-six eclipses of the sun, the greater number of which have been verified by the calculations of European astronomers; but, as has been very truly observed, the *recording* an eclipse may prove the authenticity of historical annals, while at the same time it proves nothing as to the existence of astronomical science. As far as related to the mere *observation* of the sky, the Chinese have from the earliest periods been very particular and assiduous. The remark of Du Halde, that "all these observations are not a little serviceable in ascertaining their chronology," is very true; but they by no means prove (what he appears sometimes desirous to establish) that the Chinese were astronomers.*

We read, indeed, in their history, that the blunders of some of their pretended philosophers were ingeniously turned into an occasion of flattering the sovereign. In the time of Soong, a predicted eclipse having failed of accomplishment, they congratulated the emperor that the heavens had dispensed with this omen of ill-luck in his favour. The very superstition argues an ignorance of the real causes of eclipses; but, on this point, it is possible that the government saw the advantage of wielding the mysteries of astronomy and astrology as an engine of power over the ignorance of the people. It has therefore made a monopoly of the subject, and declared it death to publish a counterfeit or imitation of the Imperial Al-

printing, worthy of the emperor's patronage. The title means in English, "The profound sources of numbers—by imperial authority."

* Phil. Trans. 1823. *On the Chinese year.*

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manac. The extravagancies of the populace during the obscuration caused by an eclipse are countenanced by the government. Though the emperor either does or ought to know better, he and his court go through sundry ceremonies on those occasions; and he affects sometimes to consider the eclipse as a warning to him, for something wrong in the administration.

But the most alarming prodigy of all is a comet, and this superstition they have had in common with many other nations. According to their shape and appearance, comets are called by the Chinese *broom stars*, *hairy stars*, and *tail stars*, and they are said to point the tail towards the region of whose ruin they are the presage. One of these appeared in May, 1820, and was observed by Mr. Reeves at Macao, on the 5th of that month, in the body of Centaur; its position being such as to be cut by two straight lines, one of them drawn through α and β, or the foot and eastern-most arm of the Cross, and produced N.E., the other through ε and β, or the western foot of Centaur. After the first observation, it became more visible by degrees, and then slowly disappeared towards the north-east. The Chinese affect to draw presages from the appearances of comets, and here they bring into play their foolish theory of the *five* colours.* If the appearance be red, particular consequences are to follow; if dark, they expect the overthrow of regular government, and the success of rebellions, &c.

A comparison between the ancient systems of Chinese and of Hindoo astronomy is rendered somewhat perplexing by the fact, that, while there are some points of resemblance, there are others in which they essentially differ: both of them have twenty-eight lunar mansions, and a cycle of sixty years; but a careful observation detects some important distinctions; the Hindoo cycle is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle; and the twenty-eight constellations of the Hindoos are nearly all of

* See p. 48.

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them equal divisions of the great circle, consisting of about 13° each, while the Chinese constellations are extremely unequal, varying from 30° to less than 1°. The author's father, in conjunction with Sir William Jones and MM. Colebrooke and Bentley, proved that the Hindoo astronomy did not go farther than the calculations of eclipses and some other changes, with the rules and tables for performing the same. Besides their lunar zodiac of twenty-eight mansions, the Hindoos (unlike the Chinese) have the solar, including twelve signs perfectly identical with ours, and demonstrating in that respect a common origin. As we know from Herodotus that the Egyptians had a week of seven days, so it is remarkable that the Hindoos had anciently the same, the planetary names being given to the days exactly in the same order as among us in Europe, but Friday being the first. The Chinese reckon *five* planets, to the exclusion of the sun and moon; but they give the name of one of their twenty-eight lunar mansions, successively, to each day of the year in a perpetual rotation, without regard to the moon's changes; so that the same four out of the twenty-eight invariably fall on our Sundays, and constitute, as it were, perpetual *Sunday letters*. A native Chinese first remarked this odd fact to the author, and on examination it proved perfectly correct.

The Hindoos divide the ecliptic into 360 degrees; and, being the reputed inventors of decimal arithmetic, the singularity has been remarked of their using sexagesimal fractions in astronomy. It seems probable (as already observed) that the Chinese borrowed this division of the great circle from the Arabians. One coincidence with the Hindoos may be noticed. Sir William Jones remarks that, in their nuptial ceremonies, they had a constellation of *three stars*, called *abhijit*, for some astrological purpose: the Chinese ancient book of songs associates *three stars* with marriage, in this line of an epithalamium—"The three stars shine on the gate." The astronomical works of the Hindoos, like those of the ancient Chi-

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nese, make no mention of observations, nor even of an instrument. According to the conclusions of Delambre, the Hindoo knowledge of astronomy was greatly inferior to that of the Greeks; and it has been argued by Laplace, in opposition to the previous opinion of Bailly, that the Indian astronomy is not of the highest antiquity, but must have been imperfectly borrowed from the Greeks.

There can be no doubt of the instruments, mentioned by Du Halde as found by the Jesuits on their first entrance into China, having been constructed by Arabians. De Pauw supposes that they were made at Balk in Bactriana, and passed into China during the Mongol government. The writer of this, however, observed in an old Chinese encyclopædia, that the height of the North Pole was stated as being 36° above the horizon; and it appears from Du Halde that the instruments in question were also calculated for 36°. Now, as the elevation of the pole at any particular place is exactly the latitude of that place, it seems reasonable to conclude that those instruments were constructed when the Chinese observatory was south of Peking, and probably in Honân, a province in which the capital once stood. They would at least be useless in the north. The observation of Du Halde, that "the uses of the instruments were written in Chinese characters, with the names of the twenty-eight constellations," is no evidence against their construction by the Arabians, though it *is* against their transportation from Balk. The guns which were cast for the Chinese by the Romish priests, were all inscribed with the characters of the country; and the ungrateful vanity of that people has invariably led them, after borrowing anything from Europeans, to conceal the debt as much as possible. When Mr. Pearson made them his invaluable present of the vaccine inoculation, it was accompanied by a small pamphlet in Chinese (written by Sir George Staunton), containing some necessary directions for the use of the virus, and stating the discovery to have been English. An edi-

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tion of this was very soon after published, in which not one word was retained as to its origin, nor any trace by which it could be known that the discovery of vaccination was otherwise than Chinese.

Their civil year is lunar, consisting of twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, with the triennial intercalation of a thirteenth month; or, to speak more exactly, with the addition of a thirteenth month to *seven* years out of *nineteen*. They probably at first adopted the sol-lunar cycle of nineteen years, the same with the Metonic cycle of the Greeks, the years of which were marked with the *golden number;* and seven of them (as with the Chinese) consisted of thirteen lunations. But the returning period of even *this* cycle being attended with a small error, their cycle of *sixty years* was at length adopted by the Chinese, comprising twenty-two intercalary moons. This answered the double purpose of regulating the sol-lunar year, and constituting a chronological era, with which they pretend to reckon back more than 2000 years B.C. The era, however, may have been antedated, for the sake of an assumed antiquity.

At the same time, it is observed by Dugald Stewart,* that a cycle being commonly deducible from observations of physical events which are obvious to the senses, the most celebrated astronomical cycles are of a very remote antiquity, and were probably discovered at a period when the study of astronomy consisted merely in accumulating and recording the most striking appearances of the heavens. We have before remarked, that the Chinese have always been very attentive to the celestial phenomena, and patient observers of times and tides. They appear very early to have divined that the moon had the principal share in causing the flux and reflux of the sea; but they left the sun out of the question altogether. M. Klaproth remarked, that in an encyclopædia, written before the

* Philosophy, p. 436.

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close of the ninth century, it is said that "the moon, being the purest principle of water, influences the tides." Another writer observes, in the twelfth century, that "the cause of the rising and falling of the sea consists in the proximity of the moon; for the waters go and come according to the period of the day and the position of the moon, which they follow."

No very certain reason can be given why the Chinese fixed upon the 15th degree of Aquarius as a point for regulating the commencement of their lunar year: but they have an annual festival at the recurrence of that period, which bears some resemblance to the annual procession of the bull Apis among the Egyptians; and both ceremonies appear to have been connected with the business of husbandry, and with the opening promise of the year. It may possibly be the case, that the 15th of Aquarius has a reference among the Chinese to the position of the winter *solstitial colure* at a remote period. The winter solstice is at present observed as a festival; but whether or not that proves its having once been the period of their civil year's commencement cannot easily be decided. In an astronomical sense, they may be said to have a solar year as well as a lunar, and the winter solstice marks its annual limit. This solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of fifteen days each on an average. The Imperial Almanac, published annually at Peking, with the seal of the Astronomical Board on the cover, is filled with much of the nonsense of judicial astrology. Mr. Barrow was informed by one of the European astronomers at the emperor's court, that "the calculation of eclipses, the times of new and full moon, the rising and setting of the sun, were intrusted to him and his colleagues; but the astrological part was managed by a committee of the Chinese members." This same person confessed that he was not very well qualified for his task, and expressed much gratitude on being presented with some copies of the

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Nautical Ephemeris, calculated for several years in advance.

The Chinese almanac, like many others of the kind in Europe, contains predictions and advice for every day in the year, and presents the same spectacle of the abuse of a little mystical learning to impose on the ignorant majority of mankind. It even gives directions as to the most lucky days for going out, or for staying at home, for shaving the head after the Tartar fashion, changing an abode, executing an agreement, or burying the dead. With this are mixed up, in the same page, a number of useful observations concerning natural phenomena pertaining to the season, though these remarks are interlarded with a number of vulgar errors as to the transformations of animals. In their first moon, which is about our February, the ice is said to melt, the wild-fowl to fly northward, and the foliage of trees and plants to be renewed: in the second, peach-trees blossom, swallows return, and there is much thunder and lightning: in the sixth the weather grows hot, and the period of heavy rains comes on: in the ninth, wild-fowl return to the south, the chrysanthemum flowers, trees turn yellow and shed their foliage: in the twelfth, lakes and rivers are covered with ice, and the ground is frozen.* This of course relates to the latitude of Peking, nearly 40° north.

In the science of *mechanics* and *machinery*, the Chinese, without possessing any theoretical rules, practically apply all the mechanical powers, except the *screw*, with considerable effect. The graduation of their common steelyard must have acquainted them with the conditions of equilibrium in that class of lever, or the relations between the long and short arm, and the power and weight. They use it constantly for weighing, not only the commonest articles, but the

* With these useful notices are mixed up very ignorant observations countenancing the grossest superstitions of the people.

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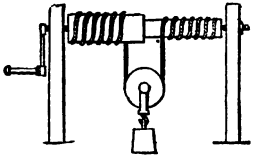
most valuable, as gold and silver. The pulley is applied on board their vessels, but always with a single sheave, and apparently more for the purpose of giving a particular lead to the ropes than with a view to the mechanical advantage to be gained by it. The application of the tooth and pinion is exemplified in the representation of a rice-mill moved by water, at page 37 of Barrow's Travels. They seem to understand, in practice at least, that power and velocity vary inversely in machinery; as, for instance, that power is gained, or time, according as the moving force is applied either to the circumference, or the axis of a wheel.

It is remarkable that they should seem always to have possessed that particular application of the principle of the wheel and axle, by which the greatest power is attained within the least space; and, at the same time, with the greatest simplicity, as well as



strength of machinery. The cylinder *a b* consists of two parts of unequal diameter, with a rope coiled round both parts in the same direction, the weight to be moved being suspended by a pulley in the middle. Every turn of the cylinder raises a portion of the rope equal to the circumference of the thicker part, but at the same time lets down a portion equal to the circumference of the thinner; and, as the weight is suspended by a pulley, it rises at each turn through a space equal to only half the difference between the span of the thicker and thinner parts of the cylinder. The action of the machine, therefore, is very slow; but the mechanical advantage is great in proportion,

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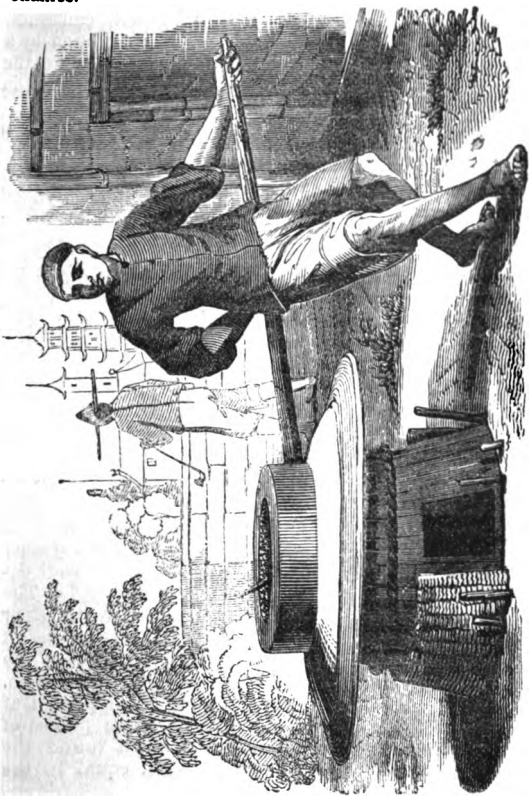
or, in other words, "power is gained at the expense of velocity," according to an invariable law of mechanics.



[Rice-Mill.]

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The over-shot water-wheel is used commonly in corn-mills, wherever the nature of the country affords streams available for the purpose. In cottages, a domestic mill was frequently seen by our embassies, composed of two circular stones put in motion by a single man or boy, or sometimes an ass or mule, the power being applied at the end of a lever, fixed in the uppermost stone.

The juice of the sugar-cane is expressed in mills similar to those used in India, according to the description of Dr. Buchanan. It consists of two upright cylinders, which are put in motion by a buffalo yoked to a beam passing from the top of one cylinder. The mill is fed by introducing the cane between the rollers, by which it is crushed and carried over to the other side. The expressed juice runs through a channel below into a large reservoir, whence it is transferred to boilers, and, being there sufficiently inspissated, is sent in tubs to the refiners. In the above instance the mechanism might be evidently economised and improved by causing the cylinder, which communicates motion, to turn *two* others instead of only *one:* this is said to be the practice in our West Indian colonies.

The Chinese excel in their contrivances for raising water in the irrigation of their lands, and it is probable that these inventions are nearly as old as their husbandry itself. One of them is an ingenious species of chain-pump, which we give here as it is well described and figured in Staunton's Embassy.* The pump consists, in the first place, of a hollow trough or trunk, of a square make. Flat and square pieces of wood, corresponding exactly to the dimensions of the cavity of the trunk, are fixed to a (jointed) chain, which turns over a roller or small wheel placed at each extremity of the trunk. The square pieces of wood fixed to the chain move with it round the rollers, and lift up a volume of water equal to the

* Vol. ii. p. 480

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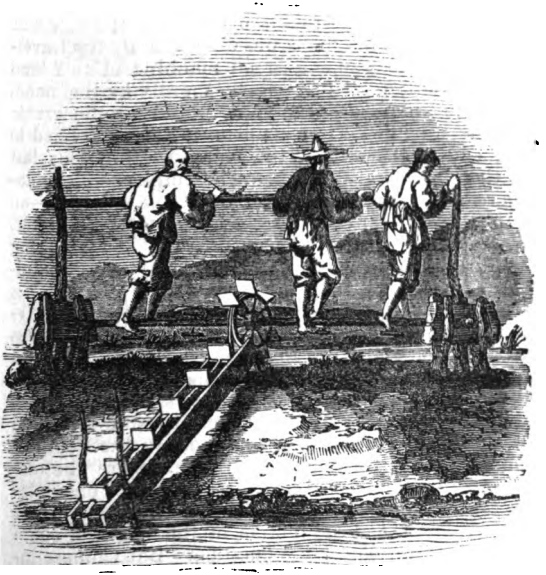
dimensions of the hollow trunk. The power used in working this machine is applicable in three different ways: if the machine be intended to lift a great quantity of water, several sets of wooden arms are made to project from various parts of the lengthened axis of the roller, over which the chain and lifters turn. These arms are shaped like the letter T, and made round and smooth for the foot to rest upon. The axis turns upon two upright pieces of wood, kept steady by a pole stretched across them. The machine



[Chain-pump, from Staunton.]

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being fixed, men treading upon the projecting arms of the axis, and supporting themselves by the beam across the uprights, communicate a rotatory motion to the chain, the lifters attached to which draw up a constant and copious stream of water.* This manner of working the chain-pump is illustrated in the preceding cut, and is applied principally to raising water to small heights from rivers or canals: frequently to pumping out the holds of their merchant-vessels.

"Another method of working this machine," continues Staunton, "is by yoking a buffalo or other animal to a large horizontal wheel, connected by cogs with the axis of the rollers over which the lifters or boards turn. This mode was observed by the travellers only at Chusan. A small machine of this kind (in the third place) is worked merely by the hand, with the assistance of a trundle and simple crank, such as are applied to a common grindstone, fixed to one end of the axis of the chain-pump. This last method is general throughout the empire. Every labourer is in possession of such a portable machine—an implement to him not less useful (in rice cultivation) than a spade to an European peasant. The making of those machines gives employment to a great number of artificers."

But by far the most ingenious and useful contrivance for irrigating lands, is that which our embassies met with on the river that flows down, with a rapid stream, from the ridge of mountains bounding the Canton province on the north, towards the Poyang lake. The velocity of the current has worn away the banks, which consist of a loose soil, to the depth in some places of thirty feet and more. Here the machine already described becomes altogether unavailable, as the weight and pressure of a column of water of that height, and the friction of the length of chain required, put it out of the question. But Chinese in-

* These lifters go up *through the inside* of the trough, and come down again above it, in a reversed position.

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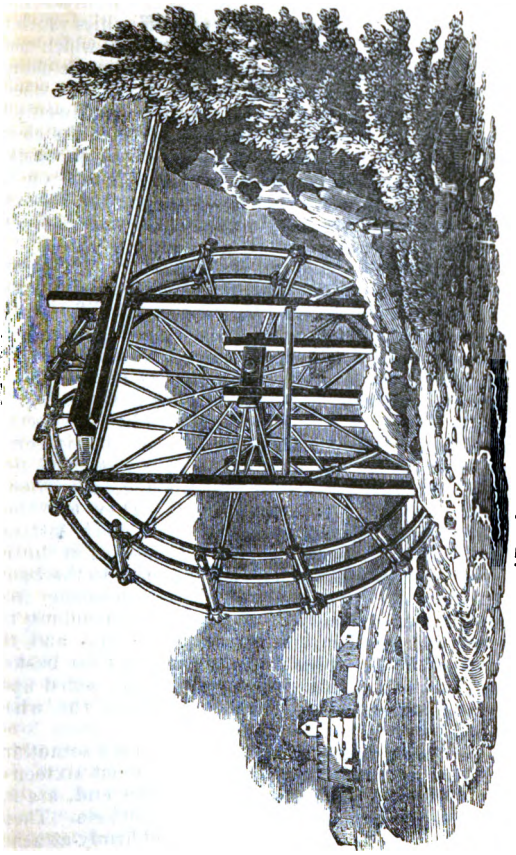

[Bamboo Water-wheel.]

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genuity has converted the strength of the stream into a means of overcoming the very difficulties which it originally occasioned; and one is at a loss which most to admire, the cleverness and efficiency, or the cheapness and simplicity, of the contrivance. The wheel, which is turned by the stream, varies from twenty to thirty feet or more in height, according to the elevation of the bank; and, when once erected, a constant supply of water is poured by it into a trough on the summit of the river's side, and conducted in channels to all parts of the sugar plantations which there chiefly occupy the lands.

The props of the wheel are of timber, and the axis is a cylinder of the same material; but every other portion of the machine exhibits some modification or other of the bamboo, even to the fastenings and bindings, for not a single nail or piece of metal enters into its composition. The wheel consists of two rims of unequal diameter, of which the one next the bank is rather the least. "This double wheel," observes Staunton, "is connected with the axis by sixteen or eighteen spokes of bamboo, obliquely inserted near each extremity of the axis, and crossing each other at about two-thirds of their length. They are there strengthened by a concentric circle, and fastened afterwards to the rims; the spokes inserted in the interior extremity of the axis (or that next to the bank) reaching the outer rim, and those proceeding from the exterior extremity of the same axis reaching the inner and smaller rim. Between the rims and the crossings of the spokes is woven a kind of close basket-work, serving as ladle-boards," which are acted upon by the current of the stream, and turn the wheel round.

The whole diameter of the wheel being something greater than the height of the bank, about sixteen or twenty hollow bamboos, closed at one end, are fastened to the circumference, to act as buckets. These, however, are not loosely suspended, but firmly attached with their open mouths towards the inner or smaller

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rim of the wheel, at such an inclination, that when dipping below the water their mouths are slightly raised from the horizontal position; as they rise through the air their position approaches the upright sufficiently near to keep a considerable portion of the contents within them; but when they have reached the summit of the revolution, the mouths become enough depressed to pour the water into a large trough placed on a level with the bank to receive it. The impulse of the stream on the ladle-boards at the circumference of the wheel, with a radius of about fifteen feet, is sufficient to overcome the resistance arising from the difference of weight between the ascending and descending, or loaded and unloaded, sides of the wheel. This impulse is increased, if necessary, at the particular spot where each wheel is erected, by damming the stream, and even raising the level of the water where it turns the wheel. The circumstance occasioned some obstacles to our progress up the stream towards the Mei-ling pass, as the water near such places rolled with the rapidity of a sluice. When the supply of water is not required over the adjoining fields, the trough is merely turned aside or removed, and the wheel continues its stately motion, the water from the tubes pouring back again down its sides. These wheels extend on the river Kân-keang, from the neighbourhood of the pass to a considerable distance down its stream towards the lake, and they were so numerous that we never saw less than thirty in a day. It is calculated that one of them will raise upwards of three hundred tons of water in the four-and-twenty hours. Viewed merely in regard to their object, the Persian wheel, and the machines used for raising water in the Tyrol, bear some resemblance to the one just described, but, as observed by Staunton, "they are vastly more expensive, less simple in construction, as well as less ingenious in contrivance."

It remains, under the head of this chapter, to say a word regarding the rules and principles which guide the Chinese in their *architecture*. Mr. Barrow has,

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with every appearance of probability, derived the shape of their roofs from the original use of the tent in their primitive pastoral state. Whatever the purpose to which a Chinese building may be destined, its roof invariably represents something of the catenary curve, which a rope assumes when suspended between two points, and which therefore enters into the general contour of a tent, or a tent-like edifice. Owing to the same derivation, there is in the appearance of Chinese edifices a want of durable solidity, while the use of wooden columns in lieu of stone adds to the defect. These columns are commonly thin in proportion to their height. As we refer the origin of the stone pillars in European architecture to the trunks of large trees, tapering in proportion as they rise from the ground, so the Chinese pillars may be traced to the original use of the bamboo, which in its slender proportions, and nearly uniform diameter throughout the whole length, assimilates to their columns at present.

The ornamental and honorary gateways (sometimes improperly termed triumphal arches) in the middle of Chinese streets, are of a similar construction. Their beauty arises wholly from the painting and gilding, and not from the proportions, which are weak and flimsy. The roof or summit, and what may be called the entablature, overweigh altogether the long and slender pillars beneath.* Every considerable house,

* In Alexander's prints to our first embassy there is a sketch of one of these. The emperor occasionally orders a *pae-low* to be erected at the public expense, to transmit to posterity the meritorious name of some just magistrate, some officer who has been killed in fight, or even of some individual among the people who may have been distinguished by his own virtues or talents, or those of his progeny. These monumental gateways are generally constructed of stone or marble, but sometimes of wood. The height is often thirty feet or more. Under a projecting roof highly ornamented, and on a species of frieze above the four pillars, is always an inscription, setting forth the occa-

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[Garden Pavilion.]

as well as every temple, has a gateway before it constructed on the same general principles, and there is a high and broad passage through the centre, with a smaller one on either side. The same circumstances that may be ranked as drawbacks in general to Chinese architecture, fit it, at the same time, peculiarly to uses where only lightness is required. The ornamental pavilions in their gardens, often situated in the midst of sheets of water, and approached by bridges, are not altogether inelegant structures, affording at the same time a cool retreat in summer evenings.

Of the more solid architecture of the Chinese, something has already been said in describing their city walls, and the great national barrier towards Tartary. They occasionally build detached towers or castles, to command important points, as that described in Lord Macartney's embassy, at the confluence of the canal

sion of the edifice being erected, and the names and titles of the individual whom it commemorates.

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with the Peking river. These partake exactly of the structure of the Great Wall, being built of brick on a foundation of stone, with a height of from thirty-five to forty feet. The entrance is an archway in the side of the tower, at some height from the ground, so as to be accessible only by a ladder or steps. Of their more considerable forts, by far the best specimens in the whole empire are those four or five, built at an enormous expense, at the entrance of the Canton river. In forcing the passage by these batteries in September, 1834, we found that a few rounds of thirty-two pound shot from his Majesty's ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* beat in a large portion of the castellated summit of the stone wall upon the garrison, and likewise knocked several of the lower ports or embrasures into one; but the lowest portion, or foundation, of the walls was of such immense solidity, that some hours of battering would be required to demolish them, and the only effect we could perceive through our glasses was the scaling off of large masses from the face of the stone work, wherever the shot had struck.

Of Chinese bridges, some have been very much exaggerated in the accounts of Du Halde and the missionaries, as appears from the later report concerning the bridge at Foo-chow-foo, visited during the unsuccessful commercial voyage of the ship *Amherst*, in 1832. This same bridge, which proved a very poor structure after all, had been extolled by the Jesuits as something quite extraordinary. A bridge of ninety-one arches, being in fact a very long causeway, was passed by Lord Macartney between Soochow and Hâng-chow, and near the lake called Taehoo. The highest arch, however, was supposed to be between twenty and thirty feet in height, and the whole length of the causeway half a mile. It was thrown across an arm of the lake, on the eastern side of the canal. The late Sir George Staunton observed a bridge between Peking and Tartary, built across a river which was subject to being swelled by mountain floods. This was erected upon caissons of wattles

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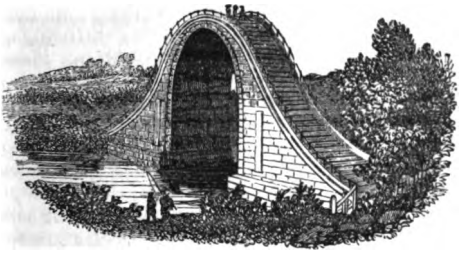
filled with stones. It appeared to have been built with expedition, and at small cost, where the most solid bridge would be endangered by inundations. The caissons were fixed by large perpendicular spars, and over the whole were laid planks, hurdles, and gravel. It was only in Keâng-nan that solid bridges were observed to be thrown over the canal, being constructed of coarse grey marble, or a reddish granite. Some of the arches were semi-circular, others the transverse section of an ellipse, and others again approached the shape of a horse-shoe, or Greek Ω, the space being widest at top.* In the ornamental bridges that adorn gardêns and pleasure-grounds, the arch is often of height sufficient to admit a boat under sail, and the bridge is ascended by steps.



[Bridge for Foot-passengers.]

All the stones of a Chinese arch are commonly wedge-shaped, their sides forming radii which converge towards the centre of the curve. It is observable, that according to the opinion of Captain Parish, who surveyed and made plans of a portion of the Great Wall, no masonry could be superior to it. The arched and vaulted work was considered by him as exceedingly well turned. The Chinese, therefore,

* The construction of a singular arch is described by Barrow, Travels in China, p. 338.

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must have understood the construction and properties of the arch long before the Greeks and Romans, whose original and most ancient edifices consisted of columns, connected by straight architraves, of bulk sufficient to support the incumbent pressure of solid masonry.

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CHAPTER XX.

NATURAL HISTORY AND PRODUCTIONS.

After a curious analysis of the great Chinese work on materia medica, which, although its name, *Pun-tsaou*, might literally imply that it was merely a *herbal* or history of plants, is in fact a classification of the chief productions of nature in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, M. Rémusat comes to the following conclusion: "I think we may infer that natural history has engaged the attention of the Chinese from the remotest antiquity, and that it became in consequence an object of pursuit among neighbouring nations,* which caused it to make some progress. The mode of writing employed in those countries, leading the people who used it to establish *genera* and *orders*, furnished them with the elements of an excellent nomenclature, and put them in the way of classification. . . . . All that could be learned from mere superficial inspection they have observed and recorded: all that demanded reflection or delicate research, they have remained ignorant of, or misapprehended. Superficial, however, as are the ideas they have collected, they constitute a scientific whole, which derives some value from the method to which it has been subjected. We conclude with a remark which is not destitute of interest to science itself: it is, that the Chinese and Japanese descriptions, when accompanied by the figures they refer to, may, with all their imperfections, enable us to distinguish the

* Using the same written characters as Japan and Cochin-China.

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species we do, from those we do not possess, augment our knowledge of facts, diffuse some light upon the distributions of the natural objects of the ancient world, and consequently may be consulted with advantage even by *naturalists*, so long as circumstances shall continue to interdict European philosophers from countries so abundant in objects of natural history, and hitherto so little explored." In the sixteenth chapter allusion was made to the advantageous hints which the constitution of their written character had, from the earliest ages, afforded to the Chinese for a systematic nomenclature, and a rational classification of natural objects into certain genera or families, according to the most striking and obvious analogies that existed among them. The two hundred and fourteen roots, under which the whole language is arranged in Chinese dictionaries, include about one hundred and sixty, which serve at once (with the aid of other characters) as *component parts* in the written designations of all known objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and as *heads* under which they have been classed. "From this simple arrangement," observes M. Rémusat, "the very ideas appear which regulated the formation of the compound signs; which ideas frequently coincide with such as intelligent naturalists might acknowledge and adopt as a basis for their arrangements. This may be observed on a glance at even their modern dictionaries, although the written language of China has undergone alterations of all kinds, and admitted many irregularities, which have affected the nomenclature of natural objects as well as other parts of the language. In turning over the leaves of the commonest of these works, we easily recognize genuine natural families, imperfect, no doubt, and founded upon inaccurate views, imperfect observation, and an unphilosophical analysis; but discovering almost always a judicious design, with sound and sometimes ingenious conclusions."

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Of the thirty roots, or radical characters, which constitute the genera or families above alluded to, *fourteen* include the animal kingdom. The *mammalia* are comprised under nine of these, viz. three families of *carnivora*, one of *rodentia*, and three of *ruminantia*, as oxen, sheep, deer: while the horse and swine are the types of two other families. In the details of the above arrangement there has been (as might be expected) much confusion and a want of discrimination, in classing together animals between which there was no real analogy, as well as separating others that were nearly allied: the ape and monkey tribes, for instance, are classed with the dogs; and numerous other examples might be adduced of the same kind. Birds, one of the most numerous class of animals in China, are all comprised in *one family*. Then come the tortoise and frog tribes under *two heads*. Fishes constitute *one family*, and improperly include the cetaceous and saurian tribes, as well as lobsters, crabs, and some of the molluscæ. The *fourteenth* family of animals, in the Chinese dictionary system, consists of insects.

This may serve to convey some idea of the notions which the Chinese have of classification, and show at the same time in what they have failed. Their vegetable kingdom is divided into eleven principal families. The first comprises all herbaceous plants, which have a common type, and are very numerous: the second family has *wood* for its radical character, and includes all trees, as well as plants with a woody stem: the bamboo, on account of its importance in use, and the great number of its varieties, stands at the head of the fifth class, and includes under it all reedy plants. No less than *four* separate radical characters serve as the heads under which the corn plants and esculent grasses have been arranged, and it follows of course that many repetitions and superfluous distinctions have taken place. The four together should have formed one natural family. The eighth family consists of leguminous plants, and has the bean for its type: the

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ninth comprises the cucurbitaceous, or gourd tribes: and under the tenth are included only about a dozen species and varieties of the alliaceous plants, as garlic, onions, and leeks. The importance attached to some of the smaller divisions no doubt arose from their having been principal articles of food from the first. The eleventh and last family consists of plants analogous to the hemp, which, from its consequence, has from the earliest times been designated by a simple and radical character.

The mineral kingdom has been classed by the Chinese lexicographers under five radical characters. The first family consists of gems, of which the famous *yu*, or jade, is the type: to these have been improperly added all factitious stones, with glass, amber, &c. The four remaining families are distinguished into stones, earths, salts, and metals. "It must be remembered," observes M. Rémusat very correctly of the system, "that this was not a methodical or systematic arrangement contrived by naturalists, in order to classify the objects they wish to describe; but a mere distribution of written signs, brought together according to their orthography, and classed by the makers of dictionaries, solely with a view to facilitating and expediting the search for them. It cannot have escaped observation, that in this composition of signs there are certain scientific ideas whence this remarkable classification arises, as it were, spontaneously; and it may be asserted that there exists no other language in the world, the words of which taken intrinsically, and quite independently of definition or accessary explanation, could afford even to the vulgar such just notions of the natural affinities of things. This results from the figurative nature of the characters, which has not been adequately appreciated; and we ought, perhaps, to give some weight to this circumstance, in the speculative comparisons we are often so fond of instituting between writing which is adapted to represent speech, and that which is imme-

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diately directed to the painting of ideas."* M. Rémusat proceeds to detail the classification of natural history in the great Chinese work on materia medica and therapeutics; but as this is a subject much less curious and interesting, and would besides exceed our limits, it must be omitted.

We may now proceed to a general consideration of such of the principal productions of China in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as have come under the notice and knowledge of Europeans; observing that, in a country whose interior is so little accessible to us, there must be a great deal that remains to be known and described. The animals, as well as vegetables, of China belong almost exclusively to the temperate zone, for the low average of the thermometer (whose annual mean, as far south as Canton, is little above 70°) and the cold winters are unfriendly to the existence of numerous tropical tribes that are found in corresponding latitudes of India. There is no subject connected with China (we must premise) on which Europe is less indebted to the Romish missionaries than natural history. The Jesuits, to whom was intrusted the charge of surveying the country and constructing a map of it, performed their peculiar task admirably; but they lost an opportunity, which may perhaps never again occur, for investigating and describing the natural features of the empire. The studies of zoology, botany, and mineralogy had certainly not, in their time, attained the scientific advancement which they have since reached: but there is a peculiar poverty and indistinctness about the missionary notices of such objects as they met with, in the several departments of the three kingdoms of nature.

The first European naturalist by profession, that seems to have visited the celestial empire, was Peter

* See Paper on "the state of the Natural Sciences among the people of Eastern Asia," as given in the Asiatic Journal, vol. ix. p. 89.

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Osbeck,* who went to Canton in 1750, as chaplain to a Swedish East Indiaman, and recorded such discoveries as he could make within the limited range open to him at that port. He had the advantage of having been a pupil of the great Linnæus, and was enabled by circumstances to extend his researches to a considerable distance about the city, with little molestation. As he collected and described many plants from the vicinity of Canton and Whampoa, the remembrance of his zeal and success was perpetuated by Linnæus in the *Osbeckia Chinensis*, and an assistant named Toreen was complimented with the *Torenia Asiatica*. It is remarkable that these were the only persons who, unaided by patronage or the assistance of their governments, did anything material towards the elucidation of Chinese natural history up to the end of the last century. The situation of Europeans at the very best is so uninviting, or rather so miserable, in that country, that it requires some resolution, and no small zeal in the cause of science, to encounter the obstacles and annoyances that meet one at every step. The trading pursuits of by far the larger portion of persons resorting to Canton, and the ports formerly open to the eastward, have also prevented the extension of researches in natural history.

The embassy of Lord Macartney formed an era in this subject, as in most others connected with China, being amply provided with intelligent and enlightened men who made the best of the opportunities which they enjoyed. In Staunton's Embassy and in Barrow's Travels there is much valuable information relating to the subjects of the present chapter. In the second volume of Staunton we find four considerable lists of Chinese plants: the first comprises those found between the shores of the Yellow Sea and Peking; the second, the plants observed near Peking and *Jĕ-ho* in Manchow Tartary; the third relates to the produc-

* For some account of Osbeck see Chinese Repository, vol. iii. p. 85.

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tions of Shantung and Keang-nân; and the fourth extends the observations down to Canton.* Had it not been for the foolish jealousy and apprehensions of the Chinese, the embassies might have been rendered much more instrumental than they were to the promotion of natural knowledge. The natives can so ill appreciate the motives of men who pursue science for its own sake, that they always couple with the eager researches of Europeans all kinds of fanciful apprehensions respecting the ulterior designs which they may entertain while surveying and examining the face of the country.

A most able and indefatigable naturalist was appointed to attend the mission of Lord Amherst in the person of Dr. Clarke Abel, but a tissue of misfortunes unhappily frustrated his objects and hopes. Soon after his arrival in the country, a brain fever, brought on by exposure to a burning sun in the prosecution of his inquiries, confined him to his bed during a considerable portion of the journey, and in fact did all but bring him to the grave. Much, however, was effected by the activity of his numerous friends, who brought him all the specimens they could collect to enrich his herbarium and cabinet. The leisure of about a month, after reaching Canton, enabled him to classify and arrange his acquisitions in the way of plants and minerals, and to pack them for conveyance home. But the crowning disaster still remained. It is well known that the *Alceste* frigate, in which Lord Amherst and his suite embarked for England, was wrecked in the straits of Gaspar on a sunken rock. There the fruits of so much diligence and care were irrecoverably lost, or, as Dr. Abel himself emphatically exclaimed—*ibi omnis effusus labor!* Some specimens fortunately reached England with Sir George Staunton, in a separate ship, and, among the few that escaped the wreck, one new plant received from Sir Joseph Banks the name of *Abelia Chinensis*.

* Embassy, vol. ii. pp. 165, 276, 435, 524.

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Among the resident English in China who have devoted their attention to the natural history of the country, the names of Messrs. Beale, Reeves, and Livingstone are associated with most of the later acquisitions that have been made by us in zoology and botany. The botanic garden of the first of these gentlemen at Macao, though far from extensive in its limits, contains what in this country would be deemed a precious selection of trees and plants, and has in fact served as the nursery in which some of the rarest productions of China have been prepared for transmission home. In the garden is an aviary of curious or beautiful birds, and as this is unique in its way, it may be described from the work of Mr. Bennett, who visited China in 1833.* The aviary is forty feet in length by twenty in breadth, and probably thirty feet high: it is divided into two portions, having communications between them, which are usually left open, but capable of being closed if necessary. It is contiguous to one side of the house, the windows of which look through the lattice-work into the aviary; and the whole of the enclosure above and around has a similar lattice-work of fine wire, surmounted by a dome at the summit.

In the aviary large trees and a variety of shrubs are planted for the convenience of the inhabitants. In the branches of the former are placed small baskets to assist as nests to those birds whose habits lead them to build in trees, and in the same branches many of the present inhabitants of the aviary have been born and reared. Near a tank, constantly filled with water, a quantity of artificial rock-work is constructed, forming an ornament to the aviary, as well as an asylum for birds of that class who are accustomed to such situations when at liberty, and who breed in the cre-

* Wanderings, &c. vol. ii. p. 50. This work contains a highly-interesting description of a *live* bird of Paradise belonging to Mr. Beale: the species which Linnæus himself, strange to say, named *Apoda*.

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vices. Every precaution is taken to prevent the ingress of rats round the aviary, the attacks of those animals having caused much destruction among the birds when the place was first erected. There are separate cages for enclosing the males of any of the species who may have their combativeness too highly excited. The punishment for such characters is in the first place solitary confinement, and should they not reform under that treatment they are finally dismissed the aviary as incorrigibles. It once happened, Mr. Bennett relates, during a total eclipse of the sun, that, as that luminary became overshadowed, the feathered colony, if not in consternation at the event, was exceedingly perplexed at the rapid and untimely termination of the day, and all retired supperless to bed; they received, however, a second surprise at the briefness of the night; for, before they could be well asleep, the cocks crowed at the re-appearance of the sun, and all again resumed their daily amusements and occupations.

We shall have to particularise hereafter some of Mr. Reeves's numerous contributions to natural history; but may notice in this place a paper of Mr. Livingstone,* addressed to the Horticultural Society, in which that gentleman reviews the means that had been adopted for enriching this country with the botanical productions of China, and states the remarkable majority of cases in which attempts to convey plants home had totally failed. It had been long the practice for individuals to purchase plants on the spot, and to carry them to England in the best manner that a long passage of four or five months at sea appeared to admit of. At a short distance above Canton, by the side of a creek or branch of the river, are a number of small nursery-gardens well known by the name of Fâ-ty, or the "flower-grounds." Each of these contains nearly the same collection of plants, formed to meet the usual demand of Europeans. It was here,

* Indo-Chinese Gleaner, vol. ii. p. 126.

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Mr. Livingstone observes, that the purchases were made with no sparing hand, notwithstanding the general want of success which they had pretty uniformly experienced.

About the year 1804, a Scotch gardener was sent out from the royal gardens at Kew, for the purpose of enriching that splendid collection with the stores of China. Great pains were taken to supply him with the most judicious instructions, and the cabins for the reception of the plants were contrived with care. Yet, with every facility and advantage, it seems that, on comparing the plants actually sent with those which reached Kew alive and in a healthy state, this gardener was not more fortunate than private adventurers. It must be observed, however, that he did not attend the plants home, but remained in China to procure new ones. They accordingly fell victims to the ignorance or the neglect of those on board the ships, who either gave them too much water or none at all, and who exposed them to the spray of the sea in bad weather, or denied them a needful supply of fresh air in fine. The gardener himself, in the mean while, leading a solitary life in China, gave way to habits of intoxication, and became unfit for his business. Since that time no other attempt of the kind has been made; but it seems obvious that all the care and attention in selecting or preparing rare plants in China will be of little avail, unless they are under proper skill and management during the long voyage home. Mr. Livingstone calculates that not more than one plant in a thousand has reached England in safety; but if we take only *half* the proportion, it will be very lamentable to those who appreciate the advantages of enriching this country with the useful or beautiful productions of foreign soils.

As animals are, for obvious reasons, more generally diffused over continents than plants, it follows that the number of cases in which the zoological productions of China have been found peculiar to that country, or not known in other parts of Asia, are extremely

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rare in comparison with the botanical ones. It has been always remarked that in either instance, whether of plants or animals, they are such, in general, as characterise a temperate, and not a tropical climate. For this reason the larger and more ferocious descriptions of carnivorous quadrupeds are neither numerous nor common. In the forests of Yun-nân, to the south-west, the Bengal species of tiger is said to exist; indeed the numerous representations of that animal, and the stories connected with it in Chinese books, are proofs that it is sufficiently well known in the empire. At Canton, however, which lies so nearly in the latitude of Calcutta, it is quite a stranger, as well as in those provinces to the north through which our embassies passed. Some smaller animals of the same genus were seen by Père Gerbillon when he went with the emperor on his hunting excursion to the north of the Great Wall, as well as bears, and an abundance of deer. Lions are almost a fabulous animal among the Chinese. Specimens may have reached Peking from some of the neighbouring countries to the south and west; but the Asiatic lion is quite a different animal, and much inferior in power to the African species. The woods of Southern China abound in a fierce and untameable, though small description of wild-cat. With a taste that is quite unaccountable to ourselves, this animal is considered by Chinese epicures as an exquisite species of *game*, and served up in stews at table, after being fed for some time in a cage. By way of a great compliment, some gentlemen were asked to partake of the flesh of one of these wild grimalkins; but they of course declined the flattering invitation.

The domestic dog of China cannot be better described than in the words of that accurate observer, Mr. White of Selborne: "My near neighbour, a young gentleman in the service of the East India Company, has brought home a dog and bitch of the Chinese breed from Canton; such as are fattened in that country for the purpose of being eaten. They are about

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the size of a moderate spaniel, of a pale yellow colour, with a coarse bristling hair on their backs; sharp upright ears, and peaked heads, which give them a very fox-like appearance. Their hind-legs are unusually straight, without any bend at the hock or ham, to such a degree as to give them an awkward gait when they trot. When they are in motion, their tails are curved high over their backs like those of some hounds, and have a bare place each on the outside from the tip midway, that does not seem to be matter of accident, but somewhat singular. Their eyes are jet black, small, and piercing; the insides of their lips and mouths of the *same colour*, and their tongues blue. The bitch has a dew-claw on each hind-leg; the dog has none. When taken out into a field, the bitch showed some disposition for hunting, and dwelt on the scent of a covey of partridges till she sprang them, giving tongue all the time. The dogs in South America are dumb; but these bark much in a short thick manner like foxes, and have a surly savage demeanor like their ancestors." The account goes on to state that these dogs are "not domesticated by the Chinese, but fed in sties." This, however, is a mistake, for although often eaten, they are very generally domesticated as guards, and a vigilant watch is called *shen-kow*, "an accomplished dog." The food on which they subsist is principally vegetable, and consists mainly of rice. This race of animal closely resembles the breed represented in the plates to the Arctic voyages, and seems to extend along the whole of northern Asia and America, being perhaps the original of the species.

Bears are quite common in the hilly parts of Shensy, west of Peking. They have often been seen in cages at Canton, whither they had most probably been brought from the westward, perhaps from Yun-nân or Sze-chuen. The paws of these animals, which abound in fat, are eaten by the Chinese as a delicacy. The country upon the whole is too well cultivated and thickly peopled to afford lodging and entertainment to many of the larger wild animals, however much

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they may have abounded originally. Similar reasons may account (besides climate) for the paucity of the quadrumanous tribes of apes and monkeys. Some of these animals exist on the island of Lintin, near the mouth of the Canton river; but it is most probable that they are descended from a few individuals of the genus, which may have got loose upon the island from the numerous junks and ships perpetually arriving from the seas to the south.

[Chinese Camel Driver.]

Dromedaries are much used as beasts of burthen between Peking and Tartary; but in China itself the reasons which cause human labour to supplant every other have prevented their being adopted; nor did we see one of these animals between Peking and Canton throughout the whole empire. Chinese horses are but rare, and of a very poor and stunted breed, probably from the same cause that renders their horned cattle so extremely diminutive—the deficiency of food

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and care. For their bulk, however, the horses are bony and strong, about the size of, or a little larger than Shetland ponies, and at the best very rough and ill kept, with their fetlocks overgrown with hair. There is a white spotted species, often represented in Chinese pictures, and which might be considered as the produce of imagination had it not been verified by the actual observations of our embassies. The whole equestrian establishment of a mandarin, or person of wealth, is ragged and beggarly in the extreme: they have no idea whatever of either condition or neatness in the turn-out of their horses. Asses and mules are common in the north of the empire. The mules are generally of a good size, and said to bear a higher price than horses, as being capable of more labour on less food.

Of the common ruminant animals, the Chinese possess several species of deer, particularly a spotted kind, which is sometimes kept about their residences. Gerbillon describes a variety of antelope abounding on the borders of Mongol Tartary, and called by the Chinese *Huâng-yang*, "yellow-goat." This animal is found towards the sandy desert of Shamo, together with vast numbers of hares and a peculiar sort of birds styled in Chinese "sand-partridges," perhaps without being a true variety of that species, for they are not very exact in their nomenclature. The sheep of China are the large-tailed kind, so common in Africa; and this extraordinary determination of fat to the tail would almost appear to be the reason why they are not found to be such good stock as European sheep. As the Chinese themselves never use milk, cows are only met with near Canton or Macao, of a peculiarly small breed; perhaps the very smallest of the ox tribe, as they sometimes do not exceed the dimensions of an ass; being at the same time of a clean and symmetrical shape, and without the hump common to the kine of India. The buffalo used in ploughing up rice-fields is also a very small species, not so large as our English cattle, with a skin of dark slate colour, thinly

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covered with hairs. It has all the sluggish habits of the species, and in summer seeks refuge from the flies that torment its hairless hide, by plunging up to the nose in muddy tanks, where it rolls in the ooze and covers itself with a coating of soil. These ugly animals are rendered very tractable by those who use them in agriculture, and may generally be seen driven by a young boy, who will occasionally fall asleep upon the beast's back. It is probably in consequence of the derivation of the Budhist religion from India that most Chinese have a prejudice against eating beef of any kind.

The domestic pig of China is well known in this country, where it has been introduced freely into our farm-yards, from being found an excellent and thriving stock on the homeward voyage. Pork is the only flesh-food that a Chinese of the lower ranks ever consumes; and even this is commonly substituted by salt-fish, as a cheaper aliment to mix with rice. The wild boar may be found in the half-reclaimed countries on the western borders, but not in Central China, or on the east coast, where tillage and population have arrived at their present height. Of the other wild pachydermatous tribes, the elephant is not at present an inhabitant of China, unless it be in Yun-nân, nor is he used in that empire for purposes of either peace or war. The emperor has a few at Peking, but they are sent as tribute from Siam or elsewhere, and merely kept for curiosity and state. The one-horned rhinoceros of Asia is found in the forests of the extreme west and south. The horn is sometimes converted, by carving and polishing, into a sort of cup, the root or point of junction with the nose being hollowed out, while the summit of the horn serves as the pedestal or handle. The notion of its being a charm against poison was imported probably by the Mongols from India.*

* There is a curious notice of the Siberian mammoth in Sir George Staunton's translation of the Chinese Embassy to the Tourgouths. "In the very coldest parts of this northern coun-

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Of rodent animals, the common rat attains sometimes to an immense size, and is well known to be eaten by the lowest orders of the Chinese. These creatures inhabit hollows in the banks of rivers and canals, and are taken at night by means of a lantern, which, being held to the mouths of their holes, causes the inmates to approach the entrance to reconnaitre; when the light dazzles their eyes in such a manner as to lead to their easy capture. Mr. Reeves discovered a *glirine* animal, nearly allied to the bamboo-rat of Sumatra, with which it has been associated under the name of *rhizomys*. Mr. Gray describes it as a new genus, "in teeth and general appearance most nearly allied to *spalax;* from which it differs in its tail of moderate length, its exposed eyes and ears, and the more complex character of its molar teeth. It moreover lives upon, and not under the ground, being found about bamboo-hedges, on the roots of which it principally subsists." To Mr. Reeves also we are indebted for the knowledge of two small carnivorous quadrupeds, new in zoology, and distinguished, since the

try," says the writer of the narrative, "a species of animal is found, which burrows under the earth, and which dies if it is at all exposed at any time to the sun and air. It is of great size, and weighs 10,000 *kin*. Its bones are very white and shining, like ivory. It is not by nature a powerful animal, and is not therefore very dangerous or ferocious. It is found generally in the mud upon the banks of rivers. The Russians collect the bones of this animal, in order to make cups, saucers, combs, and other small articles. The flesh of the animal is of a very refrigerating quality, and is eaten as a remedy in fevers."* This account of the popular notions prevalent among the natives corresponds, as the translator observes, nearly with that given by Mr. Bell. He indeed qualifies it by adding that he gives it only as the report of the superstitious and ignorant; and he says nothing of the flesh having been actually eaten. More recent discoveries, however, have confirmed the truth of a portion of these relations; for not only bones, but the flesh of the entire Siberian elephant has been found undecayed amidst the ice and snows.

* Chinese Embassy, p. 70.

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arrival of the specimens, by the names *Helictis* and *Paguma*. The first is described by Mr. Gray as possessing a dentition resembling that of *gulo* or *mustela*, but differing from both those genera in some particulars of the upper carnivorous teeth. The entire length of the animal is twenty-three and a half inches, of which the tail measures eight, and it smells strongly of musk. The second animal is allied, in respect to its teeth, with the genus *viverra*; from which it is distinguished by the shape and inferior size of its skull, the space between the eyes being broader, and the nose both broader and shorter. The skin has the odour of civet.*

The ornithology of China is distinguished by some splendid varieties of gallinaceous birds, as the gold and silver pheasants, to which have been lately added the *Reeves's pheasant*, deserving of a particular description from Mr. Bennett. The longest tail-feathers approach the extraordinary dimensions of six feet, and, even in the spacious aviary of Mr. Beale, already described, it was found that the ends of these magnificent trains were broken by the bird's movements. As they come quite from the north, it has proved extremely difficult to procure specimens, nor has the hen-bird been ever obtained. Four cocks were brought to Canton in 1830, and purchased for a hundred and thirty dollars, or about thirty pounds sterling. These furnished the specimens brought home by Mr. Reeves; the difficulty of procuring the females being attributed either to a determination on the part of the sellers to prevent the birds being bred, or to their imagining that the inferior plumage of the hens might render them less attractive to purchasers. This obstacle is the more to be regretted, as the high latitude from which the species are procured renders it likely that they might be propagated here in a natural state. Another description is called by Mr. Bennett the *medallion* pheasant, from a beautiful membrane of re-

* Proceedings of Zoological Society, 1831, p. 95.

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splendent colours, which is displayed or contracted according as the animal is more or less roused. The brilliant hues are chiefly purple, with bright red and green spots, which vary in intensity according to the degree of excitement; and become developed during the early spring months, or pairing season of the year.

The country abounds in wild-fowl of all kinds, among which the immense flocks of geese, which during the winter months cover the Canton river, always excite the notice of strangers. They migrate to the north during the summer, and are distinguished, like all the tribe, by their gregarious habits; but the Chinese, without any apparent foundation in fact, make use of them as emblems of connubial attachment, and as such they are always carried in wedding processions. There is much more ground for this character in the instance of the *Yuen-yâng*, a teal of splendid plumage, usually called the 'mandarin-duck,' whose name is, with reference to the same conjugal quality, applied figuratively to two species of fine black tea, which are generally put up in the same box, and used *together;* these are pekoe, and a superior kind of souchong. Mr. Beale's aviary afforded a singular corroboration of the fidelity of the birds in question. Of a pair in that gentleman's possession, the drake being one night purloined by some thieves, the unfortunate duck displayed the strongest marks of despair at her bereavement, retiring into a corner, and altogether neglecting food and drink, as well as the care of her person. In this condition she was courted by a drake who had lost his mate, but who met with no encouragement to his addresses from the widow. On the stolen drake being subsequently recovered, and restored to the aviary, the most extravagant demonstrations of joy were displayed by the fond couple.* But this was not all, for, as if informed by his spouse of the gallant proposals made to her shortly before his arrival, the drake attacked the luckless bird who

* Mr. Bennett's 'Wanderings,' vol. ii. p. 62.

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would have supplanted him, beat out his eyes, and inflicted so many injuries as to cause his death. Specimens of these curious and handsome birds have been brought to this country, and some that were placed in the Zoological Gardens have been successfully bred. The plumage of the female is as plain as that of the drake is ornamented; but the male, during four summer months, changes his feathers, and becomes as plain as his mate. This teal, unlike the rest of the palmipedes, generally roosts in high situations, upon trees or rocks, and his favourite position was over the windows of Mr. Beale's aviary.

Wild ducks are as numerous near Canton, during the winter months, as the geese. They abound especially in the interior, on those extensive shallow lakes through which the canal is carried; and the ingenious mode of catching them is very characteristic of the Chinese. Large hollow gourds are purposely thrown into the water in great numbers, and allowed to float about. The birds being at length accustomed to approach these with impunity, their captors disguise themselves by placing similar gourds over their heads, with holes to see and breathe through, very much in the manner of a helmet. Then wading quietly along the shallow waters, with their bodies immersed above the shoulders, they have nothing to do but to approach the birds gently, and pull them under water by their legs in succession. It has been remarked that the same practice has been recorded by Ulloa of the natives of Carthagena, in the New World, upon the lake Cienega de Tesias.

The fishing-corvorant, employed on the same lakes, has been pictured in the folio plates to Staunton, and described as "a brown pelican or corvorant, with white throat; body whitish beneath, spotted with brown; tail rounded; irides blue; and bill yellow." While fishing, these birds are prevented from swallowing what they catch, by means of a ring over the lower part of the neck; but when the work is over this ring is removed, and they are allowed to feed upon the re-

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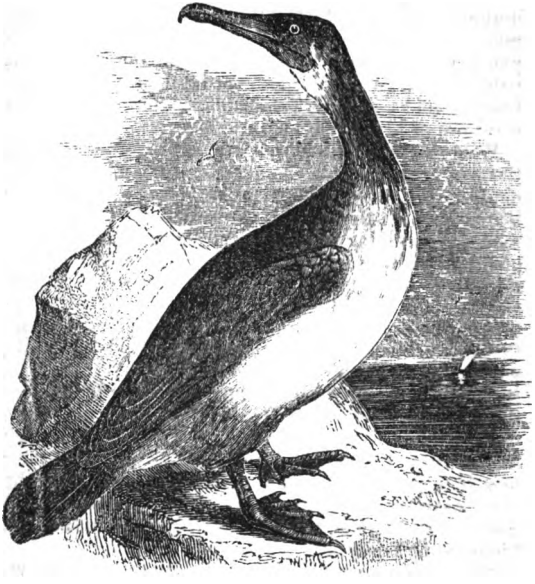
fuse. Sometimes, however, they are said to be so well trained as to need no restraint as to feeding whatever. A few of them were observed as far south as Keang-nân, in the neighbourhood of the Mei-ling pass.



[Fishing Corvorant.]

A species of pelican has been seen on a group of rocks called the Nine Islands, lying about six miles north-east of Macao, but it is probably quite distinct from the variety that is used in fishing. Among the miscellaneous birds of China may be enumerated quails, often trained to fight; the common ring-dove, of which great numbers breed in the woods about

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Canton, and the peculiar crow of the country, which is marked with white about the neck. It has been noticed already that this bird is considered sacred, either for some service that he is supposed to have rendered the present dynasty, or because he is the emblem of filial duty; from a notion, well or ill founded, that the young ones assist the old when they are disabled. In Europe, the same character has been attributed to the stork; but the stork is, in China, considered as emblematical of long life. Figures of this bird, as well as of the pine tree, are represented on the visiting tickets which are left at the new year; and they imply the wish, that the person so complimented may have "many happy returns of the season." Among the other common birds of China, we must not omit a delicate species of ortolan, which appears in the neighbourhood of Canton about the time when the last crop of rice is cut. As it feeds on the ears of grain, it is for that reason called the "rice-bird," in the same way that the term *wheat-ear* is applied to a similar description in the south of England. Mr. Gray, in his Zoological Miscellany, has given the descriptive characters of twelve species of birds belonging to a large collection brought home by Mr. Reeves.

But it is time to quit this part of the subject, and to notice those reptiles of China that have come under observation; concerning which it is remarkable that the largest kinds of saurians, as the crocodile and alligator, are unknown even as far south as Canton. Great numbers of the small lizard tribes are visible during the hot months, some of them infesting trees and shrubs, while others inhabit holes in rocks or old walls. Several fresh-water tortoises have been sent home, and described in the Zoological Proceedings for 1834; and two new genera of batrachians, or the frog kind, are noticed by Mr. Gray. Notwithstanding its situation, under the tropic, Canton is little infested by the venomous kinds of serpents. The species most dreaded is a slender snake between two

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and three feet in length, and called by the Chinese "the black and white," from being surrounded from head to tail with alternate bands of those colours. Mr. Bennett brought home an individual of this species, which had been killed after biting a Chinese on the foot, and causing his death in a few hours. The head was cut off by a countryman of the sufferer who came to his assistance, and who, having bruised it, applied it as a poultice to the bitten part. It may be questioned, as the narrator observes, whether the poison mingled with the mashed head may not have served to hasten the fatal termination.

Of fishes, a large collection of Chinese specimens has been lodged by Mr. Reeves in the British Museum. The golden carp is one of the most distinguished kinds, and has long been known and propagated in Europe from the original specimens which were carried by the Dutch, first to Java, and thence to Holland. They ornament most of the gardens in China, being kept in artificial ponds, or large earthen and porcelain vessels, interspersed with tufts of mosses, or ferns over rock-work. It is sometimes necessary to cover these ponds with nets, to preserve the inmates from numerous king-fishers, which come early in the morning to prey on them. Of edible sea-fish, the best kind near Canton is a sort of rock-cod, called *Shek-pán*, which has exactly the meaning of that term. A flat fish, called *Tsáng-yu* by the Chinese, and 'pomfret' by Europeans, is esteemed little inferior to the first. Soles are good and plentiful; but the fish most valued by native epicures is the sturgeon, partly because it is scarce, and partly on account of its gelatinous nature—a quality always valued in the dishes of the country. The Chinese stew made from this fish is so palatable as to have been introduced at the tables of Europeans. Some gastronome or other has observed, that every country affords at least *one good dish*.

Among insects, it has been elsewhere noticed, that the locust commits occasionally great ravages in

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particular districts, and rewards are given for its destruction. Some of the most poisonous tribes, as scorpions, are not met with at Canton; but the centipede, which the Chinese call by exactly the same name, *pĕ-tso* (hundred feet), is common. There is a monstrous spider that inhabits trees, attaining to such a size and strength as to enable it to devour small birds. A large species of *cicada* is common also among trees, emitting a loud and even stunning noise by the vibration of two flaps under the abdomen, supposed to be a call to the female. They generally keep up this whizzing sound most constantly during the hot sunny days. Dr. Abel enumerates the *Scarabæus molossus*, the *Cerambyx farinosus*, as well as the mole-cricket, of a large size. At a mountain lying eastward of Canton, called Lo-fow-shan, there are butterflies of a gigantic size and very brilliant colours, so celebrated as to be alluded to in poetry, and a selection of the most splendid specimens sent annually to Peking. The *pĕ-la-shoo*, or wax-tree, affords nourishment to an insect which is supposed to belong to the coccus tribe, but has not been very exactly ascertained. In the Asiatic Researches (vol. xiv. p. 182) is described an Indian insect which generates a feather-like secretion from its abdomen; this dropping on the leaves, hardens there into a substance resembling wax. It is probably identical with the species observed by our first embassy on the coast of Cochin-China, which is figured in the first volume of Staunton,* and described as "of a curious structure, having pectinated appendages rising in a curve bent towards the head, not unlike the form of the tail feathers of the common fowl, but in the opposite direction. Every part of the insect was in colour of a perfect white, or at least completely covered with a white powder." The stem of the particular shrub, resembling privet, which was covered by the insects, was entirely whitened by a similar substance.

* Page 353.

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[Insects producing Wax, from Staunton.]

In the department of botany, our limits will not admit of noticing any but the most remarkable or important plants and trees of China. At the head of these of course stands the tea-plant. The specimens brought from the *black* and *green* tea countries differ slightly in the leaf, the latter being a thinner leaf, rather lighter in colour, and longer in shape than the other. But, besides this, the great difference in the preparation contributes to mark the distinctions between the two kinds of the manufactured article; for the Chinese themselves acknowledge that either black

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or green tea may be prepared from any tea-plant. The green teas are less subjected to the action of fire than the black, and therefore retain more of the original colour and peculiar qualities of the leaf; but they are at the same time infinitely more liable to suffer from time and damp. If the two kinds of tea-leaves are examined, after having been expanded in hot water, it will be observed that the black contain the stems of the leaves, as well as some portion of the stalks on which they grew, while the Hyson leaves have generally been pinched off above the leaf-stem. The black tea thus contains much of the woody fibre, while the fine green is exclusively the fleshy part of the leaf itself, which is one good reason why it should be dearer.

Chĕ-keang produces green tea; but the principal district is in Keang-nân, at the north-west extremity of a range of hills dividing that province from Chĕ-keang, between the thirtieth and thirty-first parallels of north latitude. The tea-plant was first seen by us in the embassy, on the return from Peking, not far from this district, on the southern bank of the Yang-tse Keang, where the soil was composed partly of a micaceous sand. The black-tea country is in Fokien, between 27° and 28° latitude, on the south-east declivities of a range of hills dividing that province from Keang-sy. The tea-shrub succeeds best on the sides of mountains, where there is a small accumulation of vegetable soil. We observed it always elevated above the plains, in situations where the soil was a disintegration of sandstone or of granite, similar to the *habitat* of the single camellia, from whose seeds an oil is extracted. Dr. Abel hence infers that the hills at the Cape would afford the best situation and climate for the growth of tea; and it has been actually found to flourish on the higher parts of St. Helena. As a substitute for tea, the poorer Chinese sometimes use an infusion of dried fern-leaves, and we found these commonly sold for the express purpose near the Poy-ang lake.

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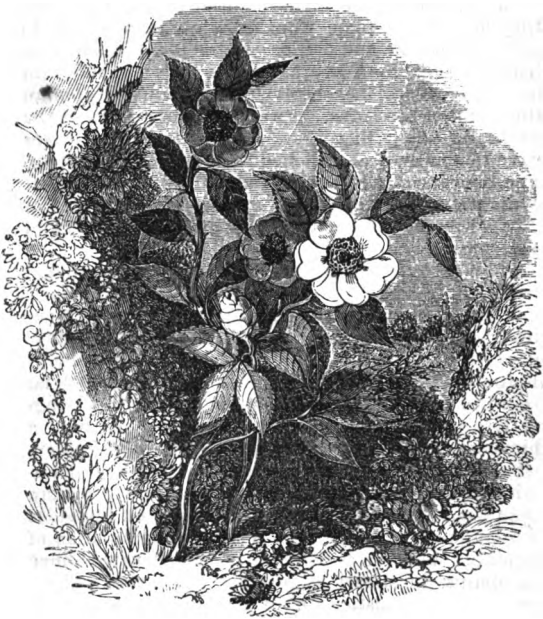
The *camellia* bears the same name, among the Chinese, with the *tea-shrub*, and possesses most of its botanical characters. They in fact constitute two



[Camellia oleifera.]

genera very closely allied, of which the distinctions, consisting principally in the seed, have been accurately noted by Dr. Wallich. The seed-vessel of the tea is a three-lobed capsule, with the lobes strongly marked, and each of them of the size of a black currant, containing one round seed. When ripe, each of the three lobes bursts vertically in the middle, and ex-

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poses the seed. The capsule of the camellia is not lobular externally, but contains altogether three seeds, like that of the tea, though of a longer shape.

In the year 1834 it was discovered that the real tea-plant was indigenous to the Company's territories in Upper Assam, bordering on the Chinese province of Yun-nân: and there now appears to be every reason for feeling certain that it may be cultivated, under proper management, with complete success for commercial purposes, as well as for local consumption. An Assam tea company has been actually established, in consequence of the successful out-turn of some specimens of produce sent home to England.

In our works of more than a century back, as in the Spectator, Pope's poems,* &c., we always find the term Bohea applied to the best tea. Our principal trade was then at Amoy and Chinchew in Fokien; and the name, as before observed, is corrupted from the appellation of a celebrated mountain† in the black-tea districts of that province. The term is now applied in England to the lowest description of black tea, called by the Chinese *Ta-cha*, 'large tea,' from the size of the leaves, which are allowed to remain on the shrub until they are full-grown and coarse. It is a general rule, that all tea is fine in proportion to the tenderness and immaturity of the leaves. In the green-tea districts the plants themselves are never allowed to reach a large size, but frequently renewed; while, in the black, both the plant and the leaves that form the last picking attain their full growth. The finest black tea, called Pekoe, consists of the spring-buds as they begin to expand; and, in like manner, the tender leaflets of the green-tea plant are made into an expensive kind called *Loong-tsing*, or Hyson-pekoe, which is highly esteemed by the Chinese, but

* "Where none learn ombre, none e'er taste bohea."
Rape of the Lock.

† Soong-lo, a general name for all *green* tea, is also the name of another mountain in Keang-nân, about 30° lat.

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not brought to Europe, as it is so delicate and slightly fired as to spoil with the least damp. But we are anticipating the subject of tea as an article of *commerce*, which will come under a future chapter.

The *Laurus camphora*, one of the most remarkable productions of China, as well as Japan, is a fine timber-tree, growing, in the southern provinces, to the height of fifty feet, and sometimes measuring twenty in circumference, with large branches eight or nine feet in girth. From the wood, which is highly scented with camphor, are obtained great quantities of that gum-resin. The process has been very exactly described by Dentrecolles. Fresh-gathered branches, cut into small pieces, are steeped in water for some days, and then boiled in a proper vessel, being continually stirred about with a stick until the gum begins to adhere in the form of a white jelly. The fluid is next poured into a glazed vessel, and being left at rest for some time, is found concreted. The crude camphor is then purified by sublimation as follows:—a layer of dry earth, finely powdered, is laid at the bottom of a metal vessel; on this is placed a layer of camphor, and then a layer of earth, and so on alternately until the vessel is filled, and the series terminated by a layer of earth; over this is laid a covering of green mint. A second vessel is now inverted over the first, and luted on. The whole is then put over a regulated fire, and afterwards allowed to cool, when the camphor is found to have sublimed and attached itself to the upper vessel. The wood of the camphor-tree is very extensively used for chests and furniture, being proof against insects. As it works without any tendency to splitting, it is excellently calculated, and much employed at Canton, for building European boats. Another wood, that of the *Melis azedarach*, vulgarly called 'sham-wood,' is also a very common material among carpenters.

On the northern limits of the Canton province two species of fir, the *Pinus Massoniana* and *Lanceolata*, grow in abundance. The summits of the limestone

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cliffs, which border the river soon after its commencement to the south of the Mei-ling pass, supply the large rafts of fir, which are floated down with the stream. These are formed of smaller rafts united together by twisted osiers, and support the wooden dwellings of those who guide them along by means of long bamboo poles. The *Nân-mo*, a description of cedar which resists insects and time, appears to be exclusively used for imperial dwellings and temples. It was an article of impeachment against the minister of Kien-loong, who was put to death by the son and successor of that monarch, principally on account of his enormous wealth, that he had presumed to use this wood in the construction of his private palace. The *Tsze-lân*, also called *Mo-wâng*, or 'king of woods,' is much valued as a material of furniture, and somewhat resembles what we denominate rosewood. A common tree in the south is the *yâng-shoo*, or bastard banyan, being a variety of the *ficus religiosa*.

The same neighbourhood produces the *dryandra cordata*, from the seeds of which the Chinese extract a varnish for boats, and coarser implements of use. Being insoluble in water, it is found very useful as a coating for tubs and basins, besides covering the paper umbrellas of the country, large quantities of which are exported to India. The fine varnish, however, is obtained from the *Tsĭ-shoo*, or lacker shrub, a species of *rhus*, from which the varnish distils like gum. It is said by the Chinese to be unwholesome to the manufacturers in a liquid state, and these poisonous qualities, which it possesses in common with many vegetable varnishes, are guarded against with great caution by the persons who collect it. They are said to work with masks over their faces, and with hands covered. The lackered manufactures of the Chinese are well known; and though the varnish is commonly used with a jet black or with red, it is capable of taking all colours.

The *Croton sebiferum*, from which the Chinese obtain their tallow, has been already noticed; and it has

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been observed that the use of vegetable substances was probably thus forced on them, by the want of a sufficient number of the larger animals in their general economy. "The seed of the croton," as Staunton remarks, "in its external appearance, bears some resemblance to the berries of the ivy. As soon as it is ripe the capsule opens and divides into two, or more frequently three divisions, and, falling off, discovers as many kernels, each attached by a separate foot-stalk, and covered with a substance of a snowy whiteness, contrasting beautifully with the leaves of the tree, which in this season (autumn) are of a tint between a purple and scarlet." Another useful tree is the mulberry, most commonly used in the feeding of silk-worms, though the same species differs in some degree from that of Europe in its growth. The leaves are smaller, of a lighter green, and much thinner. The fruit is produced, when required, in great quantities, but it is small, sweet, and insipid. The principal cultivation of the young tree for feeding silk-worms is near Soo-chow in Keang-nân, not far from the sea, and in one of the finest climates of the world. Between that city and Hâng-chow, Mr. Barrow observed "plantations of the mulberry-tree were extended on both sides of the canal, and into the country beyond the reach of sight. They appeared to be of two distinct species: the one the common mulberry, *Morus nigra;* and the other having much smaller leaves, smooth and heart-shaped, and bearing a white berry about the size of the field-strawberry."

That gigantic grass, or reed, the bamboo, is so well known in many other countries, that it needs scarcely to be noticed here, except to remark the variety of uses to which it has been put by the Chinese. It is employed in building scaffolding and sheds of all kinds; and the frame-work of their matted houses, for theatrical exhibitions, is run up with bamboos in a few hours. Some of the numerous varieties of this plant, particularly a black sort, serve as the materials of ornamental furniture. Longitudinal strips of the

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outer part form towing-ropes for boats; and of the small splinters baskets of all kinds are made. The inner portions, beaten into a pulp, form paper; and the young tender shoots, being the germs of the real stem of the plant, rising out of the ground like asparagus, are used for food in the same way as that vegetable, by boiling or stewing; or they occasionally make sweetmeats. The large tubes serve as pipes when the divisions at the joints have been removed; and, for every purpose wherein strength combined with lightness is required, the hollow cylindrical shape, as in the feathers of birds, is the best adapted. The Chinese agriculturist would be entirely at a loss in numberless cases without the assistance of the bamboo, with which he constructs the fences of his enclosures, and many of the instruments of his husbandry. The siliceous concretion, called *Tabasheer*, sometimes found in the interior of the joints, forms an item in their materia medica.*

The plant from which the pithy substance vulgarly called "rice paper" is prepared, seems to be a leguminous species growing in marshes, and found in some parts of India. The square pieces purchased in China are obtained from the stem, which, not being above an inch or two in diameter, is cut in a circular manner, and the cylinder in this manner rolled out and flattened. It is from the same plant, in all probability, that the pith-hats of India are made; and the fishermen there are said to use the substance as floats for their nets, the specific gravity being less than that of cork, and the buoyancy so much greater. A number of useful plants are, as might be expected, common to both India and China, among which may be named the cotton-shrub and indigo plant; the first of which forms the clothing of the mass of the people, and the last serves as the usual dye for it. Near the flat road between Peking and the Great Wall, Sir

* The bamboo stem blossoms but once, and then dies, like other grasses.

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George Staunton observed, in the alluvial soil, a species of *polygonum* cultivated, and was informed that its leaves, macerated and prepared like those of the indigo, yielded a blue dye. This might be tried with advantage in other climates which are too cold for the growth of indigo.

A brief notice only can be taken of the remaining useful plants. The *smilax*, or China-root of commerce, commonly known as a sudorific, is used by Chinese doctors for a variety of complaints, and may be seen growing near Canton. That valuable medicine, rhubarb, grows to the northward, in the cold and mountainous province of Shensy; the colour is originally whitish, and it assumes its red appearance in drying. *Curcuma*, or turmeric, is used sometimes as one ingredient in colouring black tea green to deceive foreigners; and the root likewise forms an article of export from Canton. Ginger is commonly cultivated all through the interior, and sold green in the shops as a vegetable. A fine oil is extracted from the kernels of apricots, to the north; and this is exactly the case among the inhabitants of Tartary, close to the Himmaleh range bordering on Bengal. The Chinese cassia, an inferior cinnamon, is grown in the province of Kuâng-sy, and largely exported in European ships. A species of sea-weed, or fucus, found on the sea-beach in the neighbourhood of Macao, is used as a jelly. It is first steeped in fresh water, and hung up to dry; being then boiled in water, it acquires, on cooling, the consistence and appearance of a jelly, and is used with various fruits to form conserves. The tobacco plant seems to be grown nearly everywhere, but has different degrees of strength, varying probably according to soil and climate. To the north it is of a pale colour, and sold in the leaf, which is reduced to a coarse powder by the purchaser. To the south it is said to owe its occasional reddish colour to being steeped in a solution of opium. It is cut into fine shreds for use, by means of a plane, applied to the edges of a quantity of leaves strongly compressed.

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The cultivation of the poppy is forbidden in China altogether.

Some notice must be taken of the most remarkable fruits and flowers of China. Among the former there are three distinct species of the orange, as different as one sort of fruit can be from another of the same genus. The first is the China orange of Europe; the second is of a pale yellow colour, but very sweet, and with a highly aromatic rind, being the commonest and cheapest sort in the country; the third, and, perhaps, best sort, has a deep crimson rind when ripe, quite detached from the fruit, the lobes of which are almost loose, with a hollow space in the centre of them. The whole has a flattish shape, sometimes four or five inches in diameter, and the loose skin, when broken, opens like a puff-ball, disclosing the juicy lobes surrounded with a kind of net-work of fibres. This has obtained at Canton the name of 'mandarin-orange,' which has been converted by botanists into *citrus nobilis*. The Chinese have, besides, several diminutive species of the genus *citrus*; one of which, called *Kum-kat*, makes a good sweetmeat when preserved whole. Small red limes are common, but they are not equal to the lemon of Europe. The nearest approach to it is a curious result of horticultural ingenuity, by which a peculiar kind of citrus is made to run entirely into rind, the whole terminating at the head in long narrow processes like fingers, whence it has obtained the appellation of *Fŏ-show*, 'the hand of Fŏ.' The odour of the mass of rind is very powerful and fine: but so entirely is this strange production the result of art operating on nature, that it does not appear a second time after the plant has been purchased.

The flat peach, a curious natural species to which the Chinese give, on account of its shape, the name *Ping-taou*, or 'cake-peach,' is accurately figured in the Horticultural Transactions,* from the first specimen produced here in 1822, and thus noticed: "This

* Vol. iv. p. 512.

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fruit is of truly singular form, and perhaps will be best described as having the appearance of a peach flattened by pressure at the head and stalk; its upright diameter, taken through the centre, from eye to stalk, being $\frac{11}{16}$ of an inch, and consisting wholly of the stone, except the skin; that of its sides (which swell round the centre) is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, its transverse diameter being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches." Some other curiosities of Chinese gardens are less natural, as their flower-pots containing stunted stems with full-grown fruit. The thick branch of a fruit-tree is deprived of a ring of bark, and the place covered round with a lump of rich loam. This is kept moist, and when the radicles have pushed into the loam, the whole is taken off and placed in a shallow pot. The branches most loaded with blossoms are selected, and the abscission taking place when the fruit is nearly ripe, they are in that state sold in pots.

When the dwarfing process is intended to be in imitation of old forest-trees, the branch which has pushed radicles into the surrounding loam is separated from the tree, and planted in a shallow earthenware flower-pot, of an oblong square shape. The pot is then filled with small lumps of alluvial clay, sufficient to supply a scanty nourishment to the plant, and water is added in a regulated quantity. The branches are repressed by cutting and burning, and bent into shapes resembling those of an old forest-tree in miniature. Roughness is produced in the bark by smearing it with sweet substances that attract ants; and the plant in time acquires the desired smallness of leaf, and general stunted appearance. The elm is most frequently used for this purpose; nor do the dwarfs require any further attention, when once fashioned, than to have the young shoots kept down by clipping.*

Among the peculiar fruits of China, the *Lichi* has been naturalized in Bengal. Another of the dimo-

* See a description of the process, Hortic. Trans., vol. iv. p. 230.

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carpus sort, called *Loong-yen*, or 'dragon's eye,' is much smaller, and has a smoother skin. The *Loquat* is a fine fruit of the *mespilus* kind, not unlike an apricot in colour and appearance, but is commonly spoiled by being plucked while still immature. A specimen of the ripe fruit was exhibited by the Horticultural Society in 1825, from the gardens of Earl Powis. The *Wampee*, as it is called at Canton, has been sometimes compared to the gooseberry, which however it resembles only in size. The fruit, which grows in bunches on a good-sized tree, bearing leaves of a highly aromatic flavour, has a yellow skin (whence its name) enclosing a rather acid pulp that surrounds two or three smooth seeds of a greenish colour. Mangoes ripen in the south of China, but they are small and inferior, and the blossoms often fail in producing fruit; hence it is, that when the term 'mango-flower' becomes applied to any person, it means that he promises more than he performs.

Grapes in the neighbourhood of Canton are often unsuccessful, the alternations of dry heat and rain being too much in excess, while occasional typhoons tear the vines to pieces. Lord Macartney's embassy found the vine cultivated largely on the borders of the river between Hâng-chow and the port of Ning-po, in latitude 30°, whence the fruit is carried in junks to Canton. As the vines spread from the bank, small upright posts are driven into the water at several feet distance, and the branches trained on them, thus gaining space over the shallow water. To the north are both apples and pears; but the latter are tasteless, and the former mealy and bad, though with a fine colour and smell. There is a species of date produced in Shantung, which, when dried like the French plum, has a flattish oval shape, and a dark-red colour, with shrivelled skin and pleasant sweet taste. To the north also are walnuts; with two kinds of chesnuts, one the common European species, the other a dwarf kind, the nuts not larger than filberts, and only one in each capsule. The Chinese have besides the *Arachis hypo-*

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gæa, or ground-nut, which is extensively cultivated for the sake of its oil, the common food of their lamps. The seeds, although originally a part of the flower ripen in a singular manner under ground; and previous to gathering them, the stems of the plants are cleared away with a hoe. The seeds are then taken up with the earth, and placed in a large sieve suspended between three poles, one man feeding the sieve, while another shakes it and separates the dirt. The arachis has been found to thrive in this country, when placed in a tan-pit with pines, each plant affording from twenty to thirty pods.

At the head of cultivated flowers the Chinese place the *Nelumbium*, or sacred lotus, whether considered in regard to its utility or its beauty. It is often raised for mere ornament in capacious earthenware or porcelain tubs, containing gold-fish. Its tulip-like, but gigantic blossoms, tinted with pink or yellow, hang over its broad peltated leaves, which in shape only, but not in size, resemble those of the nasturtium, the stalk being inserted near the centre of the leaf. When cultivated on a large scale for the sake of its seeds and root, which are articles of food, it covers lakes and marshes to a wide extent. The seeds, in form and size like an acorn without the cup, are eaten either green or dried, when they resemble nuts. The roots are sliced and eaten as fruit, being white, juicy, and of a sweetish and refreshing taste. Another highly esteemed flower is the *Olea fragrans*, consisting of minute florets of a white or yellow colour, growing in bunchy clusters, just where the leaves spring from the twigs. It flowers through a great part of the year; and in damp weather the fine odour of the blossoms is perceived at some distance. The fruit is a small olive; but it seldom appears on the trees, which commonly shed their flowers without fruiting. The slow growth of the shrub justifies the expression of *tardæ crescentis*, applied by Virgil to its congener, the common olive. It is remarkable that a branch of this fragrant olive is one of the rewards of literary merit,

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and an emblem of studious and peaceful pursuits, while in Europe likewise the olive was attributed to Minerva. The capital of Kuâng-sy province is named Kuei-lin-foo, from the country abounding in plantations of the *kuei-hua*, or *olea fragrans*.

The famous *Mow-tân*, or tree-peony, scarcely survives a year so far south as Canton, and never blossoms there twice: very large prices are sometimes given by the Chinese for the plants which are brought to that place. A flower much cultivated is the *Chrysanthemum indicum*, which is valued for the variety and richness of its colours. The Horticultural Society is in possession of forty original drawings from China, depicting as many varieties of the flower. Upwards of twenty are now cultivated in this country; and some very beautiful specimens have been depicted in the Transactions.* The *Moo-le-hua (jasminum grandiflorum)*, a powerful smelling white flower, is sometimes worn in China, as well as all over the East, by women in their hair, and has given rise in the former country to a song, of which the music may be found in Barrow's Travels. The *Choolân* (*chloranthus inconspicuus*), a small greenish-yellow blossom resembling strings of beads, is used in scenting the tea that bears its name. As a wild plant, the *Myrtus tomentosa*, or downy myrtle, of which the flowers, when they first expand, are of a rose colour, grows in great beauty on the hills of the Canton province; as does also, in Keâng-sy, the *Eugenia microphylla*, a beautiful myrtle-looking plant that covers the sides of every hill, and of which the thick terminal clusters of berries are eaten as fruit.

For such scattered lights as we possess of the geology and mineralogy of the Chinese empire, we are principally indebted to the observations of the two embassies of 1793 and 1816; and it may therefore be as well to give a summary of these observations in the order they were made, from the first landing of the

* Vol. v. p. 152.

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missions in the Peking gulf to the termination of their journeys at Canton. That portion of the most northern province that extends from the mouth of the Peiho to Tien-tsin, where the canal terminates, bears every mark of a recent and alluvial formation. There is not a pebble to be seen; but the whole flat consists of a mixture of clay and sand in strata alternating with beds of shells. So little is the country raised above the ordinary level of the river which flows through it, that there seems some difficulty in confining the latter within its bed. "If the obstacles," observes Staunton,* "that deflect a river's course consist of rocks or elevated compact ground, no subsequent accidents are likely to change the bed once formed; but if the waters flow through a country nearly level, and between banks of so loose a mould as to be incapable of resisting a partial swell, or rapid motion of the river, it will probably on such occasions form new and circuitous channels for itself. It did so in the present instance, and to a degree of inconvenience which appears to have induced the government to take pains for confining it within its usual bounds; and, accordingly, extraordinary quantities of earth have been placed along its sides, in order immediately to fill up any breach which from time to time might be made in them. There are mounds of this kind in the form of truncated wedges all along the banks of the Peiho, which may have partly been composed of mud collected from the river's bed. At present the banks of the river are higher than the adjacent plains. Those plains extend as far as the eye could reach; and the windings of the river through them made the masts of the vessels, sailing on it, appear throughout the country as if moving over the fields, in every direction, while the water lay concealed."

Between Peking and the Great Wall, on the way to Jĕ-ho, or the "hot springs," lying to the north-east in Manchow Tartary, our first embassy observed, for

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 17.

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the only time in China, a *chalky* appearance,* and geological features approaching those familiar to us in the south-east of England. In the whole distance between Peking and Canton, no secondary formation so recent as chalk has been met with; and at the latter place a cargo of English flints in ballast always finds a market, being used as a material in the manufacture of coarse glass. The plain on which Peking itself stands is an alluvial flat; but the country rises rapidly into mountains towards the west, where the Chinese are said to obtain great quantities of coals for the use of the capital. These coals, from the specimens supplied to the last embassy, Dr. Abel supposed to be a species of graphite, which, from its analysis, has been found allied to Kilkenny coal. Of the higher mountains bordering on Tartary, those who accompanied Lord Macartney observed that the lowest stratum was of sand and sandstone; the next above was coarse-grained limestone, full of nodules, and of a blue colour; this was covered by an irregular and very thick layer of indurated clay, of a bluish and sometimes of a brown-red colour, communicated by iron, which in places was so abundant as to give the clay the appearance of ochre. In some parts were perpendicular veins of quartz, intermixed with granite at the tops of the mountains.

When the embassies entered on the canal, they met with nothing but a succession of swamps and lakes, through the provinces of Shantung and the northern part of Keang-nân, affording cultivation on a large scale to the *Nelumbium*, or lotus, and the *Trapa bicornis*. This is the country which, from the earliest ages of Chinese history, appears to have been subject to disastrous inundations, which we have supposed it was the merit of the great Yu to reduce and regulate. The floods are at present perpetually renewed in a greater or less degree, by the bursting, from time to time, of the banks and dikes of the Yellow River—a

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 173.

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destructive, rather than beneficent or useful stream, which, as already observed, the late emperor himself styled "China's sorrow." On reaching Nanking, and ascending the course of the Yangtse-keang, the country rapidly improves, the swamps disappear, and the shores consist of a bluish-grey compact limestone, under a layer of vegetable mould. The islands in the river, on the authority of Dr. Abel, are an agglomerate composed of round and angular fragments of quartz, limestone, and felspar-porphyry, united by a thin argillaceous cement, or buried in sandstone. On reaching the Poyang lake, the mountains called Leu-shan, which border it on the north-west, were found to be composed of granite, containing milk-white felspar, grey quartz, and greyish-black mica. Occasionally appeared mica-slate, with but little quartz. Dr. Abel observes, "very large perfect crystals of felspar were found in the same place, many of them three or four inches in the largest diameter, and often conjoined with masses of mica in nearly equal dimensions."

At a short distance from the Poyang lake some shallow pits were seen of a species of coal which, from its imperfect carbonization and the evident traces of vegetable substance in its composition, resembled the Bovey coal of Devonshire. The alluvial character of the spot where the latter is found bears some resemblance to the neighbourhood of the lake, which receives the drainings from the granite mountains in the neighbourhood. It has been before stated* that some of the materials of Chinese porcelain are obtained near the Poyang; and in this circumstance there is a further similitude, for it is observed by Dr. Kidd, "an inferior kind of porcelain-earth is found in that part of Bovey in Devonshire which is near the London road. It is met with not much below the surface of the earth; and, from a consideration of its situation and the attendant circumstances, appears

* Chap. xviii.

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evidently to be a natural deposition of earthy felspar. Whoever considers the swampy nature of that heath, the appearances observable on its surface, and its relative situation to the adjoining granite hills, may easily be convinced that it is derived from the detritus of these, washed down and deposited by water; for this heath is as it were a natural basin which must necessarily receive whatever is brought down from the adjoining high ground; and its surface, in a great measure, consists of a white sandy quartz and occasional crystals and fragments of felspar, that evidently correspond with the quartz and unaltered felspar of the neighbouring granite."

On ascending the river Kân-keang, towards the Mei-ling ridge, the banks were observed to be composed of the old red sandstone resting on granite; and on reaching a point called *Shĕ-pa-tân*, or 'the eighteen rapids,' the rocks that obstructed the stream consisted of granite and a dark-coloured compact slate. The rapidity of the stream seemed to have worn away the superincumbent sandstone into a narrow channel that resembled a deep ravine, shaded by the pines that grew in the dark red soil on either hand. From thence the acclivity quickly increases up to the pass through the ridge, of which the substance was examined, and found to consist of limestone, under an argillaceous sandstone of compact structure. The road was cut with much labour through the narrowest part, being not more than forty or fifty feet in length, as many in height, and about twenty broad. The rock was distinctly and horizontally stratified; the sandstone was small-grained, its fresh fracture having almost the dark grey colour of clay; but where long exposed to the weather it was reddish. On descending the southern side of the ridge, the road was lined with natural pyramidal heaps of limestone, which still preserved the remains of their original horizontal stratification.

Soon after passing the city of Nanheung-foo at the foot of the ridge, Dr. Abel observes, that the hills

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which formed the banks of the river exhibited a brecial structure at their base, covered with beds of ferruginous clay, which gave to the soil a remarkable redness. Bricks were making of this, which came from the furnace of a blue colour, and such is the hue of all Chinese bricks from Peking to Canton. Dr. Abel disproved, by experiment, the previous notion that the blue brick is only sun-dried, and found that a portion of the red clay actually became of that tint on being subjected to the fire. In descending the river towards Canton, the embassies passed a cliff some hundred feet in height, which consisted of greyish-black transition limestone, containing deep fissures and natural caverns, some of which have been converted by a very little labour into temples and adyta devoted to the goddess Kuân-yin. Over the front of the principal cavern hangs an enormous stalactite formed by the percolation of water charged with carbonic acid, through the rock above.

The dark-grey marble used at Canton is of the coarsest grain, and unsusceptible of a fine polish.* In the shops abound large quantities of striated gypsum, or alabaster, which works very easily into small figures. This substance, after being converted by burning into plaster of Paris, is used in combination with oil as a cement for the seams of boats and junks. The Chinese turn it to various other purposes, honest and dishonest. It is sometimes used as a tooth-powder; but the strangest application of it is as a *gruel* in fevers, under the idea of its being cooling. Perhaps the persuasion of the wholesome, or at least innocuous qualities of powdered gypsum renders them less compunctious in using that substance to adulterate pounded sugar-candy, which it closely resembles;

* There is one species, valued on account of the curious resemblance which the figures on its polished surface bear to trees, animals, &c. But this is said to come from Yun-nân. There is reason to suppose that the figures are sometimes artificial, from their too close resemblance to particular objects.

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and we shall see, in a future chapter, that it serves as an ingredient in converting black teas, which come down damaged to Canton, into what is sold as *green*.

The coal at Canton is far from pure; it contains a small proportion of bitumen, abounds in sulphur, and leaves much earthy residuum. The coal mines by the river were observed to be in the sides of cliffs, rising directly from the water-side, and worked by driving a level from the river into the side of the mine, the coal being laden in boats from the mouth of an horizontal shaft. The character given by Du Halde of the coal to the northward throughout the empire is much the same. He says, the fires made from it are difficult to light, but last a long time. He adds, that "it sometimes yields a disagreeable smell, and would suffocate those sleeping near it, but for a vessel of water, which attracts the fumes, so that the fluid becomes charged with them." This may be the sulphuric acid, for which water has a strong affinity. There can be no doubt of the abundance of coal throughout China, nor of its extensive use; points which were both proved by the large supplies furnished to the boats of the embassy, and the heaps exposed for sale. The application of this mineral as fuel, so long ago as the end of the thirteenth century, is shown by the following accurate description of Marco Polo:—He says, "there is found a sort of black stone, which they dig out of mountains, where it runs in veins. When lighted it burns like charcoal, and retains the fire much better than wood; insomuch that it may be preserved during the night, and in the morning be found still burning. These stones do not flame, excepting a little when first lighted, but during their ignition give out a considerable heat."*

From the neighbourhood of Canton to the sea, the rocks are composed of red sandstone resting on granite, until, on reaching the clusters of islands that

* Quarto edition, page 273.

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line the coast, these are found to consist of a coarse granite only, crossed by perpendicular veins of quartz. Over the irregular surfaces of the islands, and at the summits of the highest, are strewn immense rounded blocks of the same rock. They are generally imbedded in the coarse earth, which is a disintegration of the general substance of the islands, and, as this is washed from under them, roll down the steep declivities until they reach a level space, and commonly stud the sandy margins of the islands with a belt of piled rocks, some of them many tons in weight. The scenery of these islands has been often compared to that of the Hebrides, and is quite as barren. A single instance of trap formation was detected by Dr. Abel, at an island called *Hong-kong*, which is distinguished by a waterfall; but many more would probably appear on further investigation.* "I examined," he says, "the rocks by the waterfall, and found them composed of basaltic trap, exhibiting in some places a distinct stratification, in others a confused columnar arrangement." Close to this was a mass, insulated by the sea-water, composed of two kinds of rock, granite and basalt, whose junction exhibited some curious facts. A dike of basalt passes upwards through the granite, and spreads over it. It is not in immediate contact with the granite, but separated by three narrow veins which interpose, and follow the dike through its whole length, the width of each not exceeding four inches, while that of the basalt is as many feet. The veins were of three kinds; first, granite and basalt mixed together in a confused manner; second, pure felspar; third, a sort of porphyry composed of very perfect crystals of felspar in a basaltic base.

No active volcano is known to exist in China; but the line of mountainous provinces which form the western side of the empire, from Yun-nân to near Peking, exhibits what are generally considered as slumbering volcanic symptoms, such as wells of pe-

* Some islands near Cnusan exhibit basaltic rocks.

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troleum, salt and hot-water springs, gaseous exhalations, and occasionally severe shocks of earthquake. In Yun-nân there are salt-water wells near Yaou-gan-foo, in latitude 25° 35′; the south-west part of the adjoining province of Sze-chuen abounds in the same: in Shen-sy, near the city of Yen-gân-foo, in latitude 36° 40′, there is found petroleum; and in Shân-sy there are hot-water springs, as well as jets of inflammable gas, said to be employed for the purpose of distilling saline water procured from wells in the neighbourhood. This connexion of the gaseous exhalations with saline springs has been considered as a corroboration of the fact, the same having been observed in Europe and America.* The Chinese are said to convey the gas to the place where it is consumed by bamboo pipes. These are terminated by a tube of clay to resist the action of the fire; and the combustion thus produced is so intense that the caldrons are rendered useless in a few months. A very severe and destructive earthquake occurred in Sze-chuen, during 1817, and another of the same description is remembered at Peking, as having happened in 1731. The slight shocks which have been only just perceived in the neighbourhood of Canton were probably nothing but distant vibrations, communicated from some portion of that line of active volcanoes which extends from the north-east extremity of Asia through Japan, Loo-choo, Formosa, Luconia, and other islands, to Java.

We may conclude with noticing some of the principal minerals of China not already described. At the head of these must be placed the famous *Yu* stone, being nephrite or jade, of which was composed the *Joo-ee*, or emblem of amity, sent by the late emperor to the Prince Regent.

The colour is a greyish white, passing through intermediate grades into a dark green.† "It is semi-

* De la Beche, Geology, p. 132.

† A very large specimen may be seen at the British Museum,

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transparent and cloudy, fractures splintery, and is infusible without addition."* The country in which it is principally found is said to be Yun-nân, where they discover it in nodules within the beds of torrents. This stone is so extremely hard, that the Chinese, in cutting it, use their powder of corundum, sometimes called adamantine spar, as they do in cutting lenses for their spectacles from rock-crystal.† The *corundum* is met with in granitic rocks, of which it is sometimes a component part. Its specific gravity is about 4, and its hardness very great. From the subjoined analyses, stated in centesimal ratios by Dr. Kidd, it appears that the constituents of corundum, as well as its specific gravity, are nearly the same as those of *emery*, which is used for the like purpose by European lapidaries.‡

Chinese corundum.		*Emery.*	
Alumine	84·0	Alumine	80
Silex	6·5	Silex	3
Oxyde of Iron . .	7·5	Oxyde of Iron . . .	4
		Residuum	13
	98·0		100

As China abounds in the primitive rocks, it is consequently rich in metals. Gold is obtained chiefly in the native state from the sands of the rivers in Yun-nân and Sze-chuen, near the frontiers of the Burmese country, which is well known for the quantity of gold it produces. What is called the Kin-shâ-keang, or 'Gold-sand River,' is a portion of the great Keang in the earlier part of its course; and the largest amount of the precious metal is said to come from Ly-keang-foo, near that river, and Yoong-châng-foo, on the bor-

cut into the form of a tortoise, and found imbedded in the banks of the Jumna.

* Dr. Abel.

† This is very abundant, and the best comes from Fokien.

‡ Mineralogy, vol. i. p. 153.

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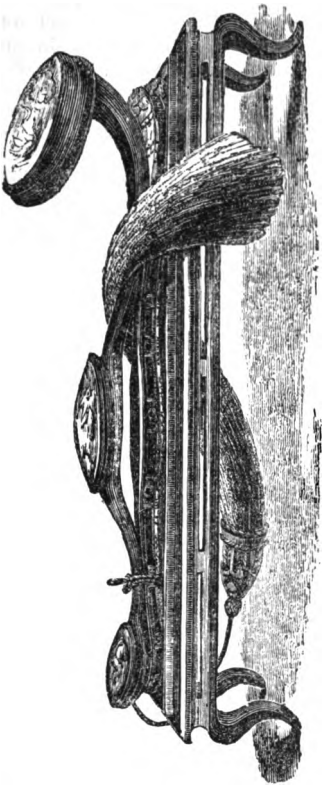

[*Joo-ee*, formed of Jade.]

ders of Ava. In Yun-nân are also worked silver mines: and indeed the great quantities of silver brought to Lintin for many years past, to be exchanged for opium and exported to India, have proved

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that there must be abundant sources in the empire. Ordinary copper, whence the base metal coin of the country is made, comes from Yun-nân and Kuei-chow. A good deal of this is called *Tze-lae*, or 'natural,' as being found in the beds of torrents. An abundance of *malachite*, or green copper ore, is obtained near the great lake in Hoo-kuâng, and is pulverized by the Chinese for green paint. The famous *pĕ-tung*, or white copper, which takes a polish not unlike silver, is said to come exclusively from Yun-nân. A considerable quantity of quicksilver is obtained in Kuei-chow; and there is a rich mine of zinc in *Hoo-pĕ*.

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CHAPTER XXI.

AGRICULTURE AND STATISTICS.

[Cave of Camoens, Macao.]

In connexion with the subject of this chapter, it may be as well to make some general remarks on the climate and meteorology of such parts of the country as have come under the observation of Europeans. A distinguishing feature, the unusual *excess* in which

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heat and cold prevail in some parts of the empire at opposite seasons, as well as the low average of the thermometer round the year, in comparison with the latitude, has been already noticed and explained as resulting, according to the investigations of Humboldt, from the position of China on the eastern side of a great continent. Although Peking is nearly a degree to the south of Naples—the latitude of the former place being 39° 54′, of the latter 40° 50′—the mean temperature of Peking is only 54° of Fahrenheit, while that of Naples is 63°. But as the thermometer at the Chinese capital sinks much lower during winter than at Naples, so in summer does it rise somewhat higher; the rivers are said to be frozen for three or four months together, from December to March; while during the last embassy in September, 1816, we experienced a heat of between ninety and one hundred degrees in the shade. Now it is well known that Naples and other countries in the extreme south of Europe are strangers to such a degree of long-continued cold, and not often visited by such heats. Europe, observes Humboldt, may be considered altogether as the western part of a great continent, and therefore subject to all the influence which causes the western sides of continents to be warmer than the eastern; and at the same time more temperate, or less subject to *excesses* of both heat and cold, but principally the latter.

The neighbourhood of Canton, and of other cities on the coast, to the sea causes this tendency to be greatly modified; and indeed the climate of the larger portion of the empire seems to be, upon the whole, less subject to extremes than that of the capital. Taking it all the year round, and with the exception of some oppressive heats from June to September, it may be questioned whether a much better climate exists anywhere than that of Canton and Macao; the former place being as low as latitude 23° 8′ north, and the latter about a degree to the south of it. The mean annual temperature of those places is what commonly prevails in the 30th parallel. It is surprising

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to contrast their meteorological averages with those of Calcutta, a city which stands very nearly in the same latitude. The following table was the result of observations made at Canton during a series of years

	Thermometer.					Mean Height of Barometer.	Average fall of Rain in Inches.	
	Mean Maximum.	Mean Minimum.	Mean Temperature.	Range				
				From	To			
January..	57	45	51	65	29	30·23	0·675	
February.	58	45	51·5	66	33	30·12	1·700	
March ...	71	60	65·5	79	45	30·17	2·150	
April	76	69	72·5	84	59	30·04	5·675	
May	78	73	75·5	86	69	29·89	11·850	
June.....	84	79	81·5	89	74	29·87	11·100	
July.....	88	84	86	94	81	29·84	7·750	
August ..	86	83	84·5	90	79	29·86	9·900	
September	84	79	81·5	88	75	29·90	10·925	
October ..	76	70	73	85	60	30·04	5·500	Total
November	68	61	64·5	79	48	30·14	2·425	Rain,
December	63	52	57·5	69	40	30·25	0·975	70·625
Annual Means	74·1	66·7	70·4	81·3	57·6	30·03		

(the average fall of rain was taken from a register kept, for sixteen years, by Mr. Beale at Macao), by which it appears that about 70½° of Fahrenheit is the average temperature of Canton and Macao, and that the months of October and April give nearly the mean heat of the year. The total fall of rain varies greatly from one year to another, and has sometimes been known to reach ninety inches and upwards. Vegetation is checked in the interval from November to February, not less by the *dryness* than by the *coldness* of the atmosphere; the three winter months being known sometimes to elapse with scarcely a drop of rain. The north-east monsoon, which commences about September, blows strongest during the above period, and begins to yield to the opposite monsoon in March. About that time the southerly winds come

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charged with the moisture which they have acquired in their passage over the sea through warm latitudes; and this moisture is suddenly condensed into thick fogs as it comes in contact with the land of China, which has been cooled down to a low temperature by the long-continued northerly winds. The latent heat given out by the rapid distillation of this steam into fluid, produces the sudden advance of temperature which takes place about March; and its effect is immediately perceptible in the stimulus given to vegetation of all kinds by this union of warmth with moisture.

With the progressive increase of heat and evaporation those rains commence, which tend so greatly to mitigate the effects of the sun's rays in tropical climates. In the month of May the fall of rain has been known to exceed twenty inches, being more than a fourth of all the year, and this keeps down the temperature to the moderate average marked for that month; while, in Calcutta, there is no portion of the year more dreaded than May. At length the increasing altitude of the sun, which becomes just vertical at Canton about the solstice, and the accumulated heat of the earth, bring on the burning months of July, August, and September, which are the most oppressive and exhausting of the whole year. The extreme rarefaction of the atmosphere now begins to operate as one of the causes tending to the production of those terrible hurricanes, or rushes of wind, called typhoons (*Tae-foong*—'great wind'), which are justly dreaded by the inhabitants of southern China; but which chiefly devastate the coasts of Haenân, and do not extend much to the north of Canton.

The name typhoon, in itself a corruption of the Chinese term, bears a singular (though we must suppose an accidental) resemblance to the Greek τυφων. The Chinese sailors and boatmen have from habit become very clever prognosticators of these hurricanes, and indeed of all kinds of weather, without the aid of the barometer. They have a common saying, that "lightning in the *east* denotes fine weather—in the

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west, successive showers,—in the *south*, continuous rain—in the *north*, violent wind." It is quite certain that typhoons always commence in the north quarter. The principal circumstances to be observed concerning these hurricanes are, the state of the barometer previous to and during the storm, the influence of the moon, and the localities in which they prevail. The barometer falls slowly for many hours, often a whole day before the commencement, the mercury sometimes descending nearly to twenty-seven inches during the progress of the gale; and its rising is a sure sign of subsidence. Another sign of the approaching storm is the long and heavy swell which rolls in upon the sea-beach, without any apparent cause, for some time before the hurricane begins; but which may perhaps be explained by so much of the usual pressure of the atmosphere (equal to two inches, or a fifteenth part of the mercurial column) being removed from the surface of the water; and this circumstance may likewise partly account for the overwhelming seas that are so much dreaded by ships encountering the typhoons. The most likely periods for their occurrence are August and September, just at the change of the moon. The gale commences at north, goes about to east and south, and finishes at west. Typhoons seldom prevail below 10° north latitude, or above the parallel in which Canton lies; and their range west and east is from the shores of Cochin-China to 130° longitude.

About Haenân, and the strait which divides that large island from the main land, the typhoons are so dreadful that temples are built expressly to deprecate them, and on the 5th day of the fifth moon the magistrates offer sacrifices. In addition to the prognostics already noticed, they are preceded by a thick muddy appearance of the atmosphere, and a show of unusual disquiet among the sea-fowl. Thunder is considered as a symptom of mitigation. They seldom reach forty-eight hours, and their duration is commonly confined to twenty-four. In the year 1831, on or about the 21st September, a typhoon blew with unusual fury at Macao. It commenced at night: and by three or

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four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, the whole place was one scene of devastation, probably not unlike the ruin occasioned by the tornadoes in the West Indies. Houses were unroofed, ships stranded, and the solid granite quay in front of the town completely levelled. Great blocks of stone, some tons in weight, were carried a considerable way up acclivities, which might appear impossible, but for the fact that the heaviest bodies are less ponderous in water than out of it, by the weight of the fluid they displace.

No small portion of the destruction occasioned by typhoons extends to the productions of agriculture and husbandry. The wind which blows from the south and east, being charged with salt water, has a withering effect on all the vegetation near the coast; trees are broken or rooted up; and rivers, already swelled by the summer rains, are driven in floods over the low lands which rice cultivation chiefly occupies. But, besides hurricanes and floods, other disasters attend on Chinese husbandry. Long-continued droughts are not unfrequent, assailing various portions of the empire by turns. The ravages of locusts are particularly dreaded in the north. Pere Bouvet, in a journey from Peking to Canton during the year 1693, observed that "in Shântung the country was laid waste by a frightful multitude of grasshoppers, called from their colour *Hoâng-choong*, 'the yellow insect.' The air was full of them, and the earth covered in such a manner, even in the great roads, that our horses could not move without raising clouds of them at every step. The insects had entirely destroyed the hopes of the harvest in this country: the mischief, however, did not extend far, for within a league of the place where this havoc was made, all was perfectly free." The plague of locusts is said to occur when great floods have been followed by a long drought.

These are some of the chief natural discouragements to agriculture in a country which possesses a large proportion of fertile lands, watered by the innumerable branches of those two great trunks, the

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Yellow River and the Keâng. There is perhaps no point relating to China that has been more overstated than the condition of its agriculture was by the early missionaries; probably in consequence of the contrast which it presented to the existing state of husbandry in Europe, at the time when they wrote. The opinion formed by Dr. Abel was, "that much as the Chinese may excel in obtaining abundant products from land naturally fertile, they are much behind some other nations in the art of improving that which is naturally barren." They exhibit, however, great perseverance and skill, about the neighbourhood of Canton, in gaining muddy flats from the water by extensive and well-constructed embankments. The subject on which most exaggeration has prevailed is the system of terrace-cultivation, which certainly exists in hilly districts, and may even be seen from the vessels at Whampoa, but is by no means carried to the marvellous extent that has been supposed. "While passing through the mountainous provinces of the empire, we naturally looked for that far-famed terrace-cultivation which had led to the notion of China being one vast garden, with hills terraced from the base to the summit. The wild and wooded tracts which were occasionally passed, at length convinced us that they do not often attempt to cultivate a surface naturally sterile or difficult, except in the immediate vicinity of towns; and that the terracing of hills is generally confined to those lower situations where an accumulation of their degraded surface affords a soil naturally productive."

The following is a summary view of the different sorts of cultivation observed by our embassies from Peking to Canton. Upon first landing on the shores of the Gulf of Pechely, the extensive alluvial flats along the river leading to the capital exhibited a dreary waste, with only occasional patches of cultivation, confined chiefly to the *Holcus*, or tall millet, and small clumps of trees surrounding houses or temples. The banks of the river sometimes alone showed traces

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of tillage, and even these, where of a sandy nature, remained barren. This continued until we approached the immediate neighbourhood of Tien-tsin, which terminates the Grand Canal to the north, and between which city and the sea the whole country is nearly an unreclaimed marsh, the inhabitants bearing in their general appearance the proofs of its unhealthiness. This is perhaps the best safeguard from an invading force on the side of the coast. After passing Tien-tsin considerable improvement was observed towards Peking, and various additions to the number of cultivated plants. Besides the Holcus, beans were grown, with the *Sesamum orientale*, from which they extract an esculent oil, and the *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant; but, above all, the *pĕ-tsae*, which is conveyed even to Canton. The trees comprised elms, willows, and a species of ash. The fields were not divided by any sort of hedge, but, as in every other part of the empire, by narrow ditches or drains, or by a ridge serving for a pathway.

When the travellers turned down the canal, on their way towards Canton, a great part of the land on both sides in Shantung had, as Mr. Ellis observed, "suffered so severely from inundation, that it was impossible to form a correct opinion of its usual appearance." But the presence of the *Nelumbium* argued its being generally swampy. On entering Keâng-nân the country began to improve, and the northern parts of that province were highly fertile, being cultivated chiefly with rice and millet. In the neighbourhood of Nan-king, the banks of the great river Keâng were planted with groves of *Thuya orientalis*, and with rice in flat alluvial patches. It was in this part of the country that the cotton shrub was first observed. In proceeding along the river towards Keâng-sy and the lake, the cultivation of rice prevailed; but, on approaching the side of the lake, the country became hilly and wooded. It was here that the finest scenery commenced; for the whole of Keâng-sy, from the Poyang lake to the Mei-ling pass, was more or less

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mountainous. The cultivation of this province in grain, vegetables, and sugar-canes bore no proportion to the hills, which were either entirely barren or covered with plantations of the single white camellia, whose seeds afford the favourite vegetable oil of the Chinese. The shrub is generally from six to eight feet in height, bearing a profusion of large white single blossoms. "The hills over which it spread," observes Dr. Abel, "looked in the distance as if lightly covered with snow, but on a nearer view exhibited an immense garden. Their general bleakness and declivity unsuited them to ordinary modes of culture, and the soil was of a red sandy nature."

But, besides the camellia, other plants or trees of great utility and beauty were observed in Keâng-sy, as the *Croton*, whose berry supplies a vegetable tallow, fir and camphor trees, and the varnish shrub. As the stream of the river became most rapid towards its source, and the neighbourhood of the Mei-ling pass, those water-wheels, already described in chap. xix., became numerous, for irrigating the sugar-cane plantations. On arriving at the ridge which divides off the Canton province to the south, extensive woods appeared to cover both sides; and, from the pass itself to within two days' journey of Canton, we saw little else than a succession of sterile, but highly picturesque mountains. Down as far as Chaou-chow-foo the river was lined with barren limestone cliffs, their intervals thickly wooded, but with little appearance of agriculture. From the latter place southwards were red sandstone rocks, gradually flattening into an alluvial country, which, as it approached Canton, was cultivated richly with rice and fruit-trees. *Below* the last city the river forms a great delta, the whole of which has been converted, by means of embankments, into an extensive level for the cultivation of rice.*

* The member of the emperor's council, who contended against legalizing the growth of the poppy, observed—"Shall the fine fields of Canton province, which produce their three

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Out of this level are seen frequently to rise clusters of granite hills, like islands in a sea.

The foregoing describes the whole track of the embassy in 1816; but Lord Macartney's mission deviated at the point where the Keâng is crossed by the canal; and, instead of proceeding up that great river to the northern extremity of the lake, they continued their course on the canal to Hang-chow-foo. Then, crossing the province of Chĕ-keang, they entered Keâng-sy to the east, and reached the lake at its southern end. In the course of this route they observed the cultivation of the Nanking cotton shrub, and the plantations of young mulberry-trees for the nourishment of silk-worms. Here also rice formed a principal item in farming; and the hills were planted with the useful trees and shrubs observed elsewhere. On approaching the neighbourhood of the lake from the east, the country consisted of swamps, the drainings from the hills, intersected by numerous branches of rivers; and the industry of the inhabitants was turned from agriculture to the business of fishing, as well as of entrapping the numerous varieties of wild-fowl which there abound.

No good land is ever reserved in China for *pasture*, which in fact can scarcely be considered as forming a department of their husbandry. The few cattle that they have are turned out only upon waste lands, which are never improved by any sort of artificial manuring or dressing. To this must partly be ascribed the poor and stunted appearance of their cows and horses. The flesh of flocks and herds is scarcely tasted except by the rich, and no Chinese ever uses either milk, butter, or cheese. "Not only has it been the care of the government, from the earliest ages, to give every direct encouragement to tillage, and to the produc-

crops a year, be given up to the cultivation of this noxious weed?—those fields, in comparison with which the unequal soil of all other parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned."

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tion of food for man alone, but there have always existed some absurd prejudices and maxims against an extended consumption of flesh-food. The Penal Code denounces severe punishment against those who kill their own cattle without an express licence.* It is a well-known principle that, where tillage exists to a considerable extent, the rent of land reserved for pasture must, in proportion to its goodness, be equal to that of land employed in producing grain;† and this, under a rice cultivation, where three crops per annum, or two of rice and one of vegetables, are said sometimes to be obtained, must have such an obvious effect in raising the comparative price of meat as must discourage its consumption among a frugal people like the Chinese, even without the intervention of any positive law.

There is accordingly no people in the world (the Hindoos excepted—and they use milk) that consumes so little meat, or so much fish and vegetable food; nor, again, is there any country in which fewer cattle are employed for the purposes of draft and burthen. Where every institution tends to keep a population up to the very utmost limits of a bare subsistence, and where neither pride nor prejudice steps in between the labourer and his work, human exertion naturally supplants every other. In the southern parts of the empire, therefore, beasts of carriage and draft, with the exception of a few miserable riding-horses and a few buffaloes for ploughing, are nearly unknown. Towards Peking and the borders of Tartary, the case becomes altered; but the Great Wall may still be considered, generally, as the boundary that separates two people, one of them exclusively pastoral, and the other as exclusively tillers of the earth.‡

The provincial government of Canton, in 1833, obtained the sanction of the emperor to a very sensible

* Book iv. sect. 223.

† Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. 11.

‡ Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. ii. 4to.

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plan for inviting the poorest people to settle down on waste spots of land wherever they might find them, cultivating these in the best way they could for their own sole benefit, without any tax or other charge whatever. The land, thus entered on, might hereafter become liable to the land-tax; but it was made the freehold property of the first cultivators, with a deed of grant from the government; and, as the object was the relief of the poor, no rich person was allowed to apply. The edict by which the foregoing regulation was promulged, observed, that "in government there is nothing so important as a sufficient supply of food for the people. . . . If the poor people will but spend their strength on the southern lands, food and raiment will be supplied, and they will never be brought to abandonment and disgrace, nor become the associates of vagabond banditti. All those who sink down to depraved courses have been impelled to them either by hunger and cold, or by voluntary laziness. In Canton province, thieves and robbers are exceedingly numerous, and they have no doubt originated in these causes. In attempting to eradicate their evil practices, the first thing is to provide them with the means of subsistence."*

Under all the circumstances, it is very surprising that the potato should have made so little progress as an article of cultivation and food since its first introduction at Canton. Nothing indeed could more convincingly demonstrate the strength of Chinese prejudices than their indifference to that, as well as to other European vegetables, as cabbages, peas, &c., which, with the potato, have been cultivated at Macao for half a century. The rice-fields near that place are, during winter, converted to the growth of kitchen vegetables, including potatoes; but these are mainly for the supply of the European and native Portuguese population. Even the shipping near Canton is supplied with potatoes from Macao, where they are suffi-

* Chinese Repository, vol. i. p. 503.

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ciently abundant and cheap; but at the former place their use is not enough extended to have reduced their price. It is probable that from climate, soil, or other causes, joined to the ancient prejudice in its favour, rice will long continue to be preferred as an object of cultivation. The labour bestowed upon it is of a more compendious nature than that devoted to the growth of kitchen vegetables, and, in the southern parts of the empire, perhaps better repaid by the produce. In the case of everything except rice, the Chinese seem to manure rather the plant itself than the soil, supplying it copiously with their liquid preparation; and the motive to this is economy, for the heavy rains wash away all the soluble parts of the earth, leaving a sterile mass of sand and stones.

Every substance convertible to manure is diligently husbanded. The cakes that remain after the expression of their vegetable oils, horns and bones reduced to powder, together with soot and ashes, and the contents of common sewers, are much used. The plaster of old kitchens, which in China have no chimneys but an opening at the top, is much valued; so that they will sometimes put new plaster on a kitchen for the sake of the old. All sorts of hair are used as manure, and barbers' shavings are carefully appropriated to that purpose. The annual produce must be considerable, in a country where some hundred millions of heads are kept constantly shaved. Dung of all animals, but especially night-soil, is esteemed above all others; which appears from Columella to have been the case among the Romans. Being sometimes formed into cakes, it is dried in the sun, and in this state becomes an object of sale to farmers, who dilute it previous to use. They construct large cisterns or pits lined with lime-plaster, as well as earthen tubs sunk in the ground, with straw over them to prevent evaporation, in which all kinds of vegetable and animal refuse are collected. These, being diluted with a sufficient quantity of liquid, are left to undergo the putrefactive fermentation, and then applied to the

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land. They correct hard water by the addition of quicklime, and are not ignorant of the uses of lime as a manure. "The Chinese husbandman," Sir George Staunton correctly observes,* "always steeps the seeds he intends to sow in liquid manure, until they swell, and germination begins to appear, which experience (he says) has taught him will have the effect of hastening the growth of plants, as well as of defending them against the insects hidden in the ground in which the seeds were sown. Perhaps this method has preserved the Chinese turnips from the fly that is often fatal to their growth elsewhere. To the roots of plants and fruit-trees the Chinese farmer applies liquid manure likewise, as contributing much towards forwarding their growth and vigour." With regard to fruit-trees, they have found that the best situations for planting them are by the sides of rivers. "Few situations," observes a paper in the Horticultural Transactions, "combine so many advantages for the plantation of orchards or fruit-trees as low grounds that form banks of rivers. The alluvial soil, of which they are generally composed, being an intermixture of the richest and most soluble parts of the neighbouring lands, with a portion of animal and vegetable matter, affords an inexhaustible fund of nourishment for the growth of fruit-trees."†

The sides of Chinese rivers are commonly high embankments of rich mud, thrown up as dikes for the protection of the lands which have in a great measure been gained from the river. These banks are six or eight feet in breadth at the top, five or six in height, and descend to the water at an inclination deviating about 30° from the perpendicular. The roots are in this manner *fed* by the water without being *swamped*, and the rich appearance of the fruit-cultivation along the Canton river, in oranges, plantains, and other produce, seems to attest its efficiency: at the same time,

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 476.
† Vol. vii. p. 135.

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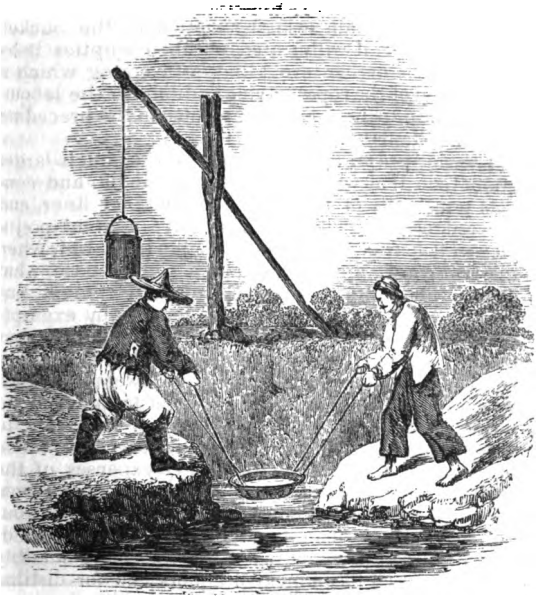
the advantages of the system may be partly frustrated by the exposedness of such situations to plunder from passing boats, where there is a crowded population; and this may perhaps account in some measure for the perverse habit, which has been remarked in the Chinese, of plucking fruit before it is entirely ripe. The worst enemies of fruit cultivation near some parts of the south coast are the typhoons, which break and destroy the trees.

The highly ingenious mechanical contrivances,



[Mode of Irrigation.]

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adopted under various circumstances for the irrigation of lands, have been already described in the nineteenth chapter. Occasionally a single bucket is used, attached to the extremity of a long lever, which is nearly balanced and turns upon an upright, as may be observed in some parts of our own and various other countries. Where the elevation of the bank over which water is to be lifted is trifling, they sometimes adopt merely the following simple method:—A light water-tight basket or bucket is held suspended on ropes between two men, who, by alternately tightening and relaxing the ropes by which they hold it between them, give a certain swinging motion to the bucket, which first fills it with water, and then empties it by a jerk on the higher level; the elastic spring which is in the bend of the ropes serving to diminish the labour. This mode of irrigation is represented in the preceding cut from Staunton.

The rice grown by the Chinese is of a much larger grain than that which is common in India, and consists principally of two sorts, the white, or finer, and the red, or coarser kinds. They have a great prejudice in favour of their own native produce; but, when this is scarce, are ready enough to purchase what comes from abroad. The Canton government encourages the importation of foreign rice by exempting the ships which bring it from port-charges; but this advantage is in great measure rendered nugatory by the dishonesty and exactions of the lower mandarins, which have sometimes caused ships to proceed no farther than Lintin, where the rice has been sold to coasting-junks. At other times, however, this mode of avoiding a portion of the heavy expenses of the Canton river has occasioned an importation of from fifteen to twenty thousand tons in the ships of various nations—a small quantity, after all, for the demands of an enormous population. A considerable quantity of grain is used for fermented liquors and for distillation. The mandarins are such bad political economists as frequently to prohibit, when there are fears

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of scarcity, the appropriation of grain to these purposes; being ignorant that, if really required for food, the price would prevent its conversion to the other purpose; and, above all, that such a use of it always maintains a surplus supply, which may be resorted to in case of extremity.

The plough used in rice-cultivation is of the simplest construction. A sharp coulter, or blade, in front of the share, is found needless, as the ground is of a light loamy description, and they never have to cut through turf. The plough is, in some parts of the country, drawn through the soil by human strength; in others by oxen, asses, and mules, yoked together indiscriminately. The ploughshare terminates at the back in a curve, which serves as a mould-board to turn aside the earth. In the Canton province the soil of the rice-fields is ploughed by means of a small buffalo, of a dark grey or slate colour, called by the Chinese *Shuey-new*, "water-ox," from its propensity for muddy shallows, where it wallows in the mire, with habits more allied to some of the pachydermatous than the ruminating tribes. When sufficient rain has fallen in spring to allow the rice-fields to be laid under water, they are subjected to the plough in that condition, the buffalo and his driver wading through the wet and slime up to their knees—an operation to which the "water-ox" is admirably fitted by nature. After this, a rake or harrow with a single row of teeth, and frequently a man standing on it, is dragged through the soil in order to break the lumps and clean the ground.

The rice is first of all sown in a small patch duly prepared and flooded with water, and subsequently transplanted to the fields where it is to grow. A short time previous to being sown, the seed is immersed in liquid manure, which promotes its future growth, and renders it less obnoxious to worms or insects. In two or three days after being committed to the ground, the young shoots appear, of a beautiful light-green colour, and when they have reached a proper height,

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they are removed to the fields which had been prepared for their reception. The process of transplanting, as observed in the Chinese Repository,* exhibits a division of labour that is perfect. One person takes up the shoots, about six inches in length, and hands them to another, who conveys them to their destination. They are there received by another party of labourers, standing ankle deep in mud and water; some of whom dibble holes into which they drop the plants by sixes, while others follow to settle the earth about the roots; the distances between these tufts being six or eight inches every way. The field is then kept flooded according to its wants, or to the circumstances of the season; and any unusual deficiency of water is of course fatal to a grain which, from its nature, the Americans of Carolina call "swamp-seed."

The fields are weeded and otherwise attended to between seed-time and harvest; and when the rice, by turning yellow, is known to be nearly ripe, the water is gradually drawn off; so that, by the end of June or beginning of July, when it is time to reap, the fields are nearly dry. The tufts of grain are cut singly near the ground, by means of a species of sickle or crooked knife, and then carried off in bundles or sheaves to be threshed. The floor employed for this purpose is of hardened earth, either with or without an admixture of lime. The grain has been said to be trodden out sometimes by cattle, but the most usual implement for threshing is the common European flail. They have a winnowing-machine precisely like ours, and there seems to be the best evidence for the fact, that we borrowed this useful invention from them.† To get rid of the tenacious husk of the rice, it is pounded in stone mortars, of which the cone-shaped pestles are worked by horizontal levers attached to them. A wheel moved by water turns a

* Vol. iii. p. 231.

† A model was carried from China to Holland; and from Holland the first specimen reached Leith.

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cylinder, to whose circumference are attached cogs which, meeting the extremities of the levers strike them down alternately, and thus raise the pestles at the other end.

For the second crop of rice the ground is immediately cleaned of the old stubble and roots, and laid again under water. Fresh plants are inserted as before, and the harvest is gathered in November. When other grains are sown, it is not by broadcast, but by the drill method, with a view to economizing the seed. One drill-plough was observed by Mr. Barrow different from the rest. "It consisted of two parallel poles of wood, shod at the lower extremities with iron to open the furrows; these poles were placed on wheels; a small hopper was attached to each pole, to drop the seed into the furrows, which were covered with earth by a transverse piece of wood fixed behind, that just swept the surface of the ground." The third annual crop obtained from the land consists of pulse, greens, and other vegetables, obtained during the dry and cold winter months. At this period the rice-fields near Macao produce an abundance of potatoes, peas, and cabbages, for which the Chinese summer in that latitude would be too hot and rainy. In lieu of a spade, they use a large heavy iron hoe, which is a more expeditious but far less efficient instrument, as it barely turns the earth to half the depth of the other. This hoe serves them instead of every variety of tool, for weeding, trenching, digging, or whatever may be the operation required in the field or garden.

The tendency, which has already been noticed in the Chinese institutions, to reduce tenements in general to a very small size, is probably one of the causes of the simple and economic processes that prevail in their husbandry. The cultivator being possessed of no superfluous capital, derives the most that he can from the soil by the cheapest method, and is lavish of nothing, except it be his labour. The land is never allowed to lie fallow, but its fertility is restored and maintained by an indefatigable system of tilth and

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manuring. This may serve partly to explain the diligence with which all putrescent substances are converted to this purpose, and especially the most disagreeable one for which the Chinese are so noted. The extreme paucity of every species of cattle for purposes of either food or cultivation, deprives them of the principal source of European fertilization, and at the same time suggests the substitute; to which may be added, the circumstance of each tenement being in general a small patch of land immediately contiguous to the dwelling of the cultivator. But, independently of both manuring and fallowing, there appears to exist some ground for the opinion, that the absence of *both* expedients may be supplied to a considerable extent by repeated ploughings or exposures of the soil. The author has still in his possession a letter from the late Sir Joseph Banks, in which that distinguished person observed, with reference to a work on the agriculture of the Hindoos, as follows: "What astonishes me is, that no mention is made in any part of it of manures, or of any fertilizing process, except repeated ploughings, of which, in the case of sugar, a great many are said to be necessary. We find in Europe that repeated ploughings increase the fertility of the soil; but can it be that we, who seldom exceed four, are so ignorant as not to know that by a much greater quantity of labour the fertility may be proportionably increased?"

In what has already been said of the social and agricultural state of China, enough may perhaps have appeared to account, in some measure, for the very numerous population which that country unquestionably possesses, though the actual amount is a point not so easily to be ascertained. There certainly never has been known a people that held out so many direct encouragements to the growth of population, or so completely set at nought all those prudential restraints which have been proposed to us by Mr. Malthus. But it must be admitted that they pay the penalty in the shape of a great deal of consequent

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poverty and misery, clearly resulting from those parts of their system which tend constantly to increase their numbers beyond the existing capability of the country to maintain them, and prevailing in spite of circumstances favourable to a general distribution of the means of subsistence. It may be as well to review, in the first place, the principal causes which conduce to the unexampled population of China, and then to exhibit the different statements as to the actual amount.

We have already seen that the advantages with which the country has been gifted by nature have been improved to the utmost by its industrious inhabitants, in the actual state of their knowledge and social condition; that agriculture, the source of food, has been honoured and encouraged beyond every other pursuit; and that the culture of the land (even when divested of the exaggerations of early writers) and the nature of its produce are such as to afford the largest return, under the circumstances, to the labour employed. It has been remarked, too, that the prevalence of agricultural over manufacturing occupations must tend to prolong life, as well as to increase food. Excepting those of the emperor in the vicinity of the capital, there are no extensive parks or pleasure-grounds reserved from the operations of productive industry. In the prevailing absence of wheel-carriages and horses, the least possible ground is occupied by roads; and the only tracts devoted to sepulchral purposes are the sides of barren hills and mountains. There is no meadow-cultivation whatever; nothing is raised for the food of cattle, but all for man; and this is a more important circumstance than it may at first sight appear.

In China there exists, as we have observed, the smallest possible number of horses and of any animals for the purposes of labour, carriage, or draft; and these maintain themselves as they can on pastures unsusceptible of cultivation. Scarcely any domestic animals are kept unless for food. There is a very

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limited consumption of any kind of meat among even the higher orders; and the lower subsist almost exclusively on the productions of tillage.* Now it has been calculated that, in Great Britain, above a million horses are engaged in transporting passengers and goods, and that the support of each horse requires as much land as would feed eight men. Here then are eight millions supplanted; and it is when this point has been reached, that the maintenance and use of horses becomes so comparatively costly as to give rise to inventions for superseding them, like steam-carriages. In China, whatever cannot be transported by water is borne on men's shoulders, and the very boats on their canals are tracked by men.

In no other country, besides, is so much food derived from the waters. The missionaries, employed in constructing the map of the empire, observed that a large number of boats were collected from various parts on the great Keâng, at a particular period of the year, to procure the spawn of fish. A portion of the river being dammed up with mats and hurdles, the water becomes charged with the spawn, which is carried in vessels to distant places, and distributed wherever fish can subsist. Besides the ordinary contrivances of nets and wicker-traps of all kinds, the Chinese have several modes of taking fish peculiarly their own. During moonlight nights they use long narrow boats, having wooden flaps at their sides, descending to the surface of the water at a particular inclination, and painted white. The fish being deceived by the light reflected from these boards, leap upon them, and are turned over into the boat with a jerk. We have already had occasion to observe, that the innumerable fishing-boats on the southern coasts maintain a race of hardy sailors, who have more than

*The present price of meat in England is about four times that of bread; or, where an acre of ploughed land will feed a given number of persons, it would require nearly four of pasture.

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once, by their piratical combinations, given great trouble to the government, and were gained over at last only by concession. The vast quantities of fish which are caught are mostly salted, and thus consumed with rice. It is on the lakes and swamps of Shantung and Keang-nân that the fishing-bird is trained to exercise his piscatorial habits in the service of man. Numbers of them were seen by our embassies perched in every boat, from which, at a given signal, they disperse themselves over the water and return regularly with their prey.

[Fishing with Birds.]

The political causes which tend to swell the population of China are numerous and powerful. Among these are the paternal rights which continue during life, and render a son, even in that over-peopled country, an important acquisition. How effectual and necessary male children are considered to the support of aged parents, is proved by the laws of the country, which grant life sometimes even to a condemned homicide, if the want of another son or grandson,

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above the age of sixteen, renders his existence necessary to the support of a parent. In some cases, the next nearest relative, as a nephew, may be reprieved from death under the same plea.* We have seen before that the power over children is in reality absolute, and it appears that the original relation of the offspring to both their parents remains in full force, notwithstanding the divorce of the latter. The other cause which renders male children so desirable is the sentiment regarding sacrifices at the tombs, and in the temple of ancestors, on which the whole plot of one of their plays has been mentioned as turning. In default of male children, there is a legalized mode of adoption, by which the line is perpetuated, and the family prevented from becoming extinct. Even the tendency of slavery to check population is counteracted, by a law which makes the owners of domestic slaves, who do not procure husbands for their females, liable to prosecution.

But the perpetuation of families does not tend more to the density of the population than the manner in which those families live and are maintained. It is a universal system of *clubbing* on the most economical plan. The emperor observes, in the Sacred Instructions, that nine generations once lived under the same roof, and that, "in the family of Chang-che, of Keang-chow, *seven hundred* partook of the same daily repast. Thus ought all those, who are of the same name, to bear in remembrance their common ancestry and parentage. . . . May your regard for your ancestors be manifested in your mutual love and affection; may you be like streams diverging from their sources, or trees branching from their stems." The claims of kindred being thus strengthened and enforced, and supported besides by common opinion, the property of families is made to maintain the greatest number possible; and even if any prudential

* Peking Gazettes. Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. i. p. 395.

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scruples respecting marriage were supposed to exist in the mind of a Chinese, this would tend effectually to remove them.

Another political cause that aggravates the over-population of the country, is the obstacle that exists, both in law and prejudice, to emigration. "All officers of government, soldiers, and private citizens, who clandestinely proceed to sea to trade, or remove to foreign islands for the purpose of inhabiting and cultivating the same, shall be punished according to the law against communicating with rebels and enemies."* Necessity of course renders this in a great measure nugatory: but it must discourage emigration; because even supposing a subject to have amassed a fortune in foreign countries, there is the clear letter of the law to hang perpetually over him on his return; and it is precisely in this way that all persecution and extortion in China is exercised—by quoting the law against a man. But, independently of this, the abandonment of his native place, and of the tombs of his ancestors, is always abhorrent to the mind of a Chinese; and the consequence is, that no persons but the most indigent or desperate ever quit their country.

In the general list of causes must not be omitted a very important one—the uninterrupted peace which has been enjoyed by this country since the complete establishment of the Manchow dynasty, a period now considerably exceeding a century. The depopulating effects of war are by no means to be measured or estimated alone by the numbers that actually die, for that loss would soon be repaired; but by the ruin and destruction of the funds for the support of existence, and the cessation of the occupations which produce those funds. At the Tartar conquest the waste of human life appears to have been almost beyond belief; but since that time the country has enjoyed a period of general tranquillity scarcely to be equalled even in Chinese annals. Two of the Manchow sove-

* Penal Code, sect. ccxxv.

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reigns were very extraordinary persons: their administration conferred a degree of prosperity on the empire which raised or restored it to its present condition, and increased its population, according to native accounts, at a rate which seems absolutely incredible, if measured by European calculations or experience. It is now time to exhibit the different statements on this subject—statements so vague and contradictory, that it does not appear easy to come to a very satisfactory result.

It seems clear that the native statistical accounts are, under any circumstances, and with all their defects, the only sources of information on which much dependence can be placed. Our two embassies bore witness to the countless numbers that came under their observation on the route between Peking and Canton; but the provinces and districts through which both missions passed are confessedly the richest of the whole empire, and well known to excel, both in fertility and population, those to the westward. The Grand Canal and the Keâng render them the great commercial route between the northern and southern provinces; and the British embassies drew together the whole population of the cities and neighbourhoods through which they travelled, the mandarins who attended them declaring that the crowd exceeded anything they themselves had before witnessed. The estimate of three hundred and thirty-three millions, obtained from one of the conductors of Lord Macartney, is confessedly a document in *round numbers*; but, being declared to be founded on official returns, might at least be considered as an approximation to the truth, if the accounts derived by us, directly from their own statistical works, did not unfortunately discredit themselves by the contradictions and inconsistencies that pervade them.

Grosier, on the authority of Amiot, who quoted the *Yŏ-tung-chy*, or statistical account of the whole empire, made the population in 1743 amount to one hundred and ninety-eight, or two hundred millions. There

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is nothing incredible in this, considering that the area included within the limits of China Proper is above eight times that of France. But on comparing it with the three hundred and thirty-three millions of Lord Macartney's authority, just fifty years afterwards, an increase of considerably more than half within that period seems very large. The true point of difficulty is the degree of credit that is to be attached to the Chinese census. The division of the whole population into hundreds and tithings seems calculated to secure some degree of correctness in the returns; yet it has been stated, on native authority, that "the ordinary report of the population is a mere matter of form, to which no particular attention is paid. When a census is especially called for by the emperor, the local officers just take the last one, and make a lumping addition to it, in order to please his majesty with the flattering idea of increase and prosperity. Now, although it is true that the enormous census of three hundred and thirty-three millions was not made to impose on foreigners, yet it might have been made by this proud nation to impose on themselves."*

In a paper by Dr. Morrison (appended to a report of the Anglo-Chinese College in 1829) there is an account, obtained from a native work, of the functions of the Board of Revenue at Peking, which among other matters takes cognizance of the population. It appears that at the commencement of the present dynasty of Manchow Emperors, and soon after their occupation of the country, a census was taken with reference to a poll-tax, and of liability to military service, of all males above sixteen and under sixty years of age. The poll-tax was afterwards merged in the land-tax, the census disregarded, and the poll-tax for ever interdicted. The census was, however, afterwards restored by Kien-loong, not with any view to taxation, but simply to ascertain the amount of numbers in each province and district, and this was to be taken by the heads of tens and of hundreds every three

* Letter in Chinese Repository, vol. i. p. 385.

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or five years. The first report was to the local magistrate, the next from him to the heads of the province, while these last transmitted the accounts to the supreme government. The avowed object of this census was to have some guide in apportioning government relief during periods of drought, inundation, and famine, to particular districts; as well as to aid the police in the execution of their duties.

When the census was taken by Kien-loong shortly previous to the embassy of Lord Macartney, that emperor, in the fifty-eighth year of his reign, corresponding to 1793, issued a proclamation addressed to the whole empire, calling upon all ranks and conditions of men to economise the gifts of heaven, and by industry to increase the quantity; for, observing the increase of population since the period of the conquest, he looks forward with deep concern to the future, when the numbers of the people shall have exceeded the means of subsistence. "The land (he says) does not increase in quantity, although the people to be fed increase so rapidly." Here is the highest authority to prove that a very great increase had really taken place; but when we come to the particulars, they are such as to stagger all belief. The emperor goes on to say, that in the forty-ninth year of Kâng-hy (A.D. 1710), or under the old system of the poll-tax, the population of the empire was rated at 23,312,200 and odd; and that by the late census, according to returns sent from all the provinces, it amounted to 307,467,200!

"The increase," observes Dr. Morrison, "seems so enormous in a period of about eighty-two years, that some error in the figures might be supposed. However, the emperor remarks that the increase had been about fifteen-fold, which shows there was no mistake; since fifteen-fold would make the amount three hundred and forty-five millions."* Dr. Morrison pro-

* The increase, according to the numbers given, is something more than thirteen-fold.

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ceeds to say that "the statement proves Mr. Malthus's position, that population may double itself every twenty-five years, for this is nearly doubling it every twenty years." Indeed it proves a great deal too much, unless some way can be discovered of reconciling the account with bare possibility. But we must remember that a great portion of the country was *unsubdued* in the reign of Kâng-hy. The southern parts of the empire held out obstinately against the Tartars, and some of them were long governed by independent Chinese rulers. These, then, must of necessity have been, for the time, excluded from a census of the subjects of the Manchow dynasty. At the time when the numbering took place by order of Kien-loong, every portion of the present empire was united in peaceful subjection to his sway, and had, besides, enjoyed unusual peace and prosperity during his reign of extraordinary duration.

Again, we must call to mind that the census so remarkable for its small amount under Kâng-hy, was with reference to a *poll-tax*, and to *military service*, two objects which were of all others the least calculated, during an unsettled and half-subdued state of the country, to ensure a correct or full return. It was long before the Chinese could get over their natural aversion to the Tartar dominion; and, for the first generation or two, it is likely that great numbers would seek refuge, either in some part of China still independent, or in some neighbouring countries or islands, as we have seen that they did in Formosa. The Manchow conquest is said, by the combined effects of war and emigration, to have reduced the population of China to less than half its amount under the *Ming* race; but the conquest has been followed by almost unexampled peace and prosperity during a period considerably exceeding a century; and this circumstance, in connexion with those several parts of the Chinese system which we have already noticed as eminently favourable to increase, must have had its effect in peopling the country. The unrestrained

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march of population in its "geometric progression" is easily comprehended in a new country, like America, with plenty of fertile land: but, in China, it is necessary to explain an apparently sudden and extraordinary increase on particular and specific grounds.

A census said, on the authority of a Chinese statistical work of some note, to have been taken in the seventeenth year of Keaking (1812) goes beyond the amount stated to Lord Macartney, and makes the population reach the number of 360,279,897. If the other is to be received, there is less difficulty in believing the increase that this last exhibits in nineteen years. It must be left to the reader's own judgment to determine how far the accuracy of a Chinese census is to be trusted, after he has been informed that the account is made up from the returns received in detail from every village in the empire, in which the houses are provided with what is called a *Mun-pae*, or "door-tablet," on which are inscribed all the individuals of the family. The lists are transmitted through several channels before they reach Peking, and may occasionally, if not always, be liable to falsification by those who wish to flatter or gratify the court by the idea of increase. Taking the area of China at 1,200,000 square miles, we should, on the latest estimate, have three hundred inhabitants on a square mile, which is more than has been attributed to England or Holland.

Mr. Malthus, without seeming to have been aware of the disproportion between the census of Kâng-hy and that of Kien-loong, appears disposed to credit the 333,000,000 stated to Lord Macartney as the actual population of China at the end of the last century, on the ground of the extraordinary encouragements which are there given to the continual multiplication of the species. "The natural tendency," he observes, "to increase is everywhere so great, that it will generally be easy to account for the height at which the population is found in any country. The more difficult, as well as the more interesting part of the in

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quiry, is to trace the immediate causes which stop its farther progress. The procreative power would, with as much facility, double in twenty-five years the population of China as that of any of the states of America: but we know that it cannot do this, from the palpable inability of the soil to support such an additional number." The great increase that has certainly taken place since the depopulating effect of the Tartar conquest (though likely in reality to be very different from the Chinese census) has been in some measure a mere restoration to the land of the population which it *before* maintained; in which respect the situation of the country has, to a certain degree, and for the time, been as favourable to increase as that of new colonies.

It is pretty generally admitted, that, as the preventive checks in any country operate feebly in restraining the overflow of population, the positive checks will be called into more powerful action; and in this respect China affords a signal corroboration of the Malthusian doctrine. We have seen that the poorest persons are urged to marriage equally with the richest, by motives inherent in their institutions, and sentiments instilled into them from their birth. The only classes among whom the preventive check operates at all, are the priests of Fŏ, on whom celibacy is enjoined by their tenets, and the domestic slaves, whom the interests of their masters may occasionally prevent from marrying—though in the latter case we have seen that the law has stepped in with its interference in favour of increase. The positive checks are epidemics, starvation,* and infanticide, as far as the latter prevails. The general healthiness of the country is remarkable; but the Peking Gazettes occasionally bear testimony to the ravages of sickness in particular districts, often the consequence of previous famine, whether resulting from drought, inundation, locusts,

* The ordinary wages of labour appear, from the *Leu-lee*, to be equivalent to about sixpence a day, and this gives little more than a bare subsistence.

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or other causes. The Sacred Edict warns the people against "those years which happen from time to time, when epidemic distempers, joined to a scarcity of grain, make *all places desolate.*"

The public granaries are very poor provisions against seasons of dearth, partly from the malversations and dishonesty of those who conduct them, and partly from their bringing the government into competition with the corn-dealer or factor, whose natural interest is much better calculated to equalize the prices of grain, and make the plenty of one year supply the dearth of another, than the artificial interference of the government. When rice is cheap, he is prevented from buying and storing it up; and its very cheapness occasions its undue consumption; just as if a ship's company should eat up two months' provision in one month. The free and unrestrained business of the corn-factor would provide by far the best public granary, though it might deprive the government of some part of the display and pretence of its paternal character. But the natural diffusion of food through *space* is equally restricted with its diffusion through *time.* As it is the policy of Chinese rulers to restrict the intercourse of different parts of the empire to inland navigation, a reference to the map will immediately show that the inland trade between some provinces on the coast is impeded by lofty mountains, where rivers take their rise, and where they are therefore unnavigable. The plenty of one province, accordingly, in such a bulky commodity as grain, cannot easily supply the want of another except by *sea:* and that channel is interdicted.

This inconvenience is sometimes so plain as to be discerned, and to lead to the removal of the impediments. An edict was issued by the emperor a few years since, of which the following is an extract: —"The viceroy of the two provinces of Fokien and Chĕ-keang has recommended a temporary relaxation of the restrictions on the coasting trade, and the holding out of encouragement to merchants to import

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grain from Chĕ-keang by sea. In the past year the harvest of rice in Fokien has been so bad as to raise the price of grain to an unusual height. The same viceroy states that the harvest in Chĕ-keang has been comparatively plentiful, and the coasting navigation affords such facilities for transmission, that he recommends some relaxation of the restrictions upon it, as an encouragement to merchants to supply the wants of the people. Let this be done according to his recommendation, and let the treasurer of Fokien hold out encouragement to the merchants of the provincial capital and its dependencies to proceed to Chĕ-keang with proper licences, and import grain by sea. Let the lieutenant-governor of Chĕ-keang make known to the merchants of his province, that if they wish to transmit grain to Fokien they may receive permits from the treasurer for that purpose. Let them be allowed, after proper inspection, to proceed through the several sea-ports without detention or hindrance. When the price of grain in Fokien shall have sunk to its usual level, let the customary restrictions be resumed."

The impediments to free trade, in the produce of the land, arise partly from the principal revenues being derived from agriculture. A land-tax has from the earliest ages been the chief resource of the government. We learn from the book of Mencius,* that in lieu of the present system, by which one-tenth, or less, is levied from the land, a mode formerly prevailed called *Tsoo* (assistance), by which the government obtained a ninth of the produce, or about eleven per cent. A certain portion of land was divided into nine equal parcels, of which one was reserved for the state, and the rest given to eight different farmers, who united in tilling the public field as a tax for their several portions.† This was considered as superior to

* Shang-meng, ch. v.

† An ode in their Book of Songs says, "Let the rain descend first on our public, and then on our private fields." The poet had perhaps charge of the finances.

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all other systems, on the ground of its constant equality, and just proportion to the variations of the seasons; but it was of course found impracticable in the long run, and the mode of taxation called *Koong* substituted, by which an average of several years' produce was made, and a tenth of this fixed as a permanent tax. "But," says Mencius, "although in years of abundance the fixed rate is small, yet in bad years, when the produce is deficient, he who should be the parent of the people injures them by taking the average amount."

Some observations by Sir George Staunton, the translator of the Penal Code, in connexion with the present subject, deserve to be quoted at length:—"It has long been a disputed, and is still perhaps to be considered a doubtful question, whether the tenure by which the land is in general held in China is of the nature of a freehold, and vested in the landholder without limitation or control, or whether the sovereign is in fact the universal and exclusive proprietor of the soil, while the nominal landholder is, like the zemindar in India, no more than the steward or collector of his master. The truth probably lies, in this instance, between the two extremes. It is well known that several of the merchants who trade with Europeans at Canton have considerable landed possessions, and that they esteem those possessions to be the most secure, if not the most important, portion of their property. The missionaries resident at Peking, under the protection of the court, had likewise their estates in land granted them by different emperors for the support of their establishments. Besides, the ordinary contribution of the landholder to the revenue is supposed not to exceed one-tenth of the produce—a proportion very different from that which is required from the ryots, or actual cultivators of the soil in India, and which leaves enough in the hands of the landholder to enable him to reserve a considerable income to himself, after discharging the wages of the labourer and the interest of the capital employed upon

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the cultivation of his property. . . . . As there are no public funds in China, the purchase of land is the chief, if not the only, mode of rendering capital productive with certainty and regularity, and free from the anxiety and risk of commercial adventure.

"On the other hand, it must be admitted that the Penal Code clearly evinces that there are considerable deductions to be made from the advantages just mentioned; that the proprietorship of the landholder is of a very qualified nature, and subject to a degree of interference and control on the part of government, not known or endured under the most despotic of the monarchies of Europe. By the 78th section (of the Code) the proprietor of land seems to be almost entirely restricted from disposing of it by will. By the 88th section it appears that the inheritors must share it amongst them in certain established portions. By the 90th section those lands are forfeited which the proprietors do not register in the public records of government, acknowledging themselves responsible for the payment of taxes upon them. Allotments of lands even appear to be in some cases liable to forfeiture, merely because they are not cultivated when capable of being so.* By the 95th section no mortgage is lawful unless the mortgagee actually enters into the possession of the lands, has the produce thereof conveyed to him, and makes himself personally responsible for the payment of all taxes, until the lands are redeemed by the proprietor."† Thus the Chinese possess the benefits of a *public registry of real property*, which was established with a view to securing to the emperor his revenues from the lands.

We have seen that the capitation or poll-tax imposed by the Tartars was soon taken off again; and it was Yoong-ching, the second emperor of the dynasty, who, in order to avoid the trouble and uncertainty

* But we have seen that they are sometimes given free of taxes, and with no other condition but that of cultivation.

† Appendix to *Leu-lee*, p. 526.

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attending the collection of the land-tax from the tenants, ordained that it should ever after be taken from the landowners. In order to comprehend in any way the subject of the Chinese revenues, we must premise, that from the produce of taxation in each province the treasurer of that province deducts the civil and military expenses, and all outlays, whether for public works or otherwise, remitting the *surplus* to Peking either in money or kind. The difficulty, then, of ascertaining the real expense that attends the administration of the whole empire arises from this surplus being the only point that has been clearly ascertained; as well as from a considerable portion of the taxation being levied in *commodities*, as grain, salt, silks, and stores of different kinds. Whether this cumbrous and wasteful system arose from the want of a convenient circulating medium (in the absence of any gold or silver coin), or from some other cause, we will not pretend to explain; but it is deserving of remark that no small part of the allowances of public servants, especially at Peking, as well as of the stipends of courtiers and imperial relatives, is paid in the shape of *rations* and *supplies*. Without possessing, as it would seem, the means of an exact computation, Du Halde states that the total expense of the imperial government through the empire must be two hundred millions of taëls, or upwards of sixty millions sterling, of which only *twelve millions* are transmitted to Peking. The accuracy of the latter amount seems pretty nearly confirmed by what appeared in a Peking Gazette, dated November, 1833. A Tartar officer therein states, that the whole receipts from land-tax, salt monopoly, customs and duties, &c., do not exceed forty millions of taëls. This is twelve or thirteen millions sterling, and can of course mean *only* the revenue transmitted to Peking, after paying the expenses of the provinces; for a country eight times the size of France could hardly be governed for that sum. Again, it appears from a statement by Dr. Morrison, that the surplus from land-tax transmitted to Peking by *two* provinces

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was *five* millions of taëls, which, taken as an average for eighteen provinces, would give forty-five millions; but one or two of them supply much below that average, and the true total may therefore be forty millions, as above.

With reference to the grain that is transmitted to the capital, Padre Serra informs us, that it is laden in about ten thousand boats, each boat carrying eleven hundred sacks. In addition to the independence of sea-navigation, it was for the express purpose of securing this supply that the Grand Canal was constructed. One of its names is the "Grain-remitting River" (Yun-leang-ho); and the statement extracted by Dr. Morrison, from a Chinese account of the Board of Revenue at Peking, confirms the foregoing assertion of Padre Serra; for the actual number of grain-junks is there reckoned at 10,455. On quitting *Tien-tsin* in 1816, and proceeding towards the capital, the vast number of these vessels ranged along the southern bank of the river drew our attention. From about noon until late at night we sailed rapidly past an unbroken line of them, anchored in a regular manner with their heads to the shore, and close to each other; the stern of every junk resting upon the side of the one immediately next to it down the stream. Each of them was said to carry above a hundred tons; but this must probably be beyond the average of their burthen, since it would give the enormous amount of more than a million tons in grain. It is likely that some of them are employed not exclusively in remitting grain, but that the silks, teas, and other tribute from the provinces are likewise laden on board. Tien-tsin is only about fifty miles from the sea: and an invading enemy, by reaching that point, might either take possession of the grain-junks, or destroy them, and thus starve the capital.

It is a rule on the canal, that all private vessels should make way for the grain-junks, and the people in the latter sometimes abuse their privilege. "The late outrageous and violent conduct of those on board

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the grain-junks (said an edict of the present emperor in 1824), towards private merchants and individuals, has rendered it necessary to enact certain regulations for their future government and control. The superintendent has reported that it has been the custom for every division of these vessels to employ the people of the province and district whence it came, as being the best skilled in the management of the vessels. This has given occasion to numbers of houseless vagabonds from distant parts to conduct themselves in a disorderly and unlawful manner, relying upon their great number for impunity. Let the head-man in each vessel be made responsible, and let him be compelled to return lists of his crew, as a check upon their conduct. Let the returns contain a description of the age, appearance, and other particulars of each person; and let every man have a badge or mark round his middle, in order that when the vessel comes to an anchor, he may be duly registered. When the grain-junks enter any particular district, let the civil and military officers, attended by their soldiers and followers, resort to the spot, and exert themselves in quickening the progress of the vessels, as well as in the preservation of order."* A portion of the land-tax in grain is reserved, in each province, for the supply of the public granaries, to be sold at a reduced rate to the people in times of scarcity.

Another principal source of revenue in China, next to the land-tax, is the duty on *salt*, which yields a very large amount in consequence of the immense consumption of salted fish, as well as other provisions. The trade in salt is a government monopoly, farmed by a certain number of licensed merchants, who, in point of wealth, vie with those other monopolists, the Hong merchants of Canton. This necessary of life is chiefly procured in the eastern and southern provinces on the coast, though they appear to have mines of rock-salt, as well as salt-springs. Large square fields

* Royal Asiatic Transactions, 4to. vol. i.

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in the marshes adjoining the sea are made perfectly level, with elevated margins. The sea-water is then either let in by sluices, or pumped in by the method commonly used in irrigation. The water, which lies on the surface to the depth of a few inches, is then evaporated by the heat of the sun. The huge stacks, or rather *hills*, of salt, observed by our embassies at Tien-tsin, were calculated by Mr. Barrow* to contain 600,000,000 lbs., and occupied the north side of the river, or that opposite to the grain-junks; but these lay *above* the city, while the heaps of salt-bags lay *below* it on the river. We find from Marco Polo, that a like revenue was derived by the Mongol emperors from this necessary of life.

In China no considerable quantity of salt can ever be removed except by a permit. There appear, from the Penal Code, to be similar restrictions attending certain government monopolies of both tea and alum† for home consumption. "Whoever is guilty of a clandestine sale of these articles shall be liable to the same penalties as in a clandestine sale of salt."‡ Ginseng is another monopoly of the emperor. The collection of this root in Manchow Tartary is confined to the "eight banners," each division having a portion of territory allotted to it for the search of the medical

* "The number of entire stacks was two hundred and twenty-two, besides several others that were incomplete. A transverse section of each stack was found to contain seventy bags. None of these stacks were less in length than two hundred feet; some extended to six hundred. Supposing the mean, or average, length of those stacks to be four hundred feet, of which each bag occupied a space of two feet, there would then be in each stack two hundred sections, or fourteen thousand bags, and in the two hundred and twenty-two stacks upwards of three million bags of salt. Every bag contained about two hundred pounds weight of salt, and consequently, altogether, six hundred millions of pounds in weight of that article."

† It has been observed before, that alum is used as a precipitate in clarifying the water of the rivers for use.

‡ Penal Code, sect. cxli.

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treasure. That collected at Ningkoota used to be reserved for the sole use of the emperor and his family, the rest being distributed in rewards to officers and courtiers. Tickets or permits are given to those employed in collection, and severe punishments enacted against all such as presume to gather ginseng without licence. The Hong merchants have been *compelled* to buy ginseng, to the extent of 120,000 taëls per annum. Several mines of metals also afford a revenue. In Yun-nân is a river called *Kin-sha*, or "golden-sanded," some part of the produce of which is paid to the government.

Taxes on the transit of goods are another source of income to the emperor, as well as customs on imports and exports. A considerable addition to the prices of teas, exported by us from Canton, is made by the duties levied by the government, at different passes between that port and the countries where it is grown. This is one of their main reasons for confining the European ships to Canton; for if *we* obtained the teas nearer to the places of growth and manufacture, all that was saved in the price to the purchasers would be lost in the transit duty to the revenue. Besides these burthens, and the profits of the Hong merchants, are to be reckoned the regular and irregular charges levied by the Hoppo, or chief commissioner of customs. This officer is always a Tartar favourite of the emperor, selected from one of the three tribes about the court; and as many of them are distinguished by their *number* and not by their *name*, a former Hoppo of Canton (in 1828) was styled "His Excellency *Seventy-four*." It is the business of the Hoppo, in addition to amassing an immense private fortune from the European trade in the course of four or five years, to remit to Peking annually 1,470,000 taëls, or Chinese ounces of silver, and to make three presents to the emperor; one in the fifth moon, another on his majesty's birthday, and a third at the end of the year.* The whole

* Padre Serra's Notices, Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. iii. 4to.

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amount to about 800,000 taëls in value, and consist principally of European articles obtained from the merchants. As the *foreigners* are those who ultimately pay these charges, the government has none of its ordinary scruples to restrain exaction.

The civil and statistical work,* abstracted by Dr. Morrison, after stating all the sources of income, proceeds to give the items of expenditure. It begins with the salaries and allowances in silver, grain, and silk, to the princes and nobles about the court, which have already been noticed in the eleventh chapter. The officers of government receive both pay and allowances, the pay being often a mere trifle, but the allowances on a liberal scale. The legal emoluments of the governor of a province are 15,000 taëls, or 5000*l.*, in silver, the value of which is much higher with them than with us. The treasurer of a province, who collects and remits the land-tax, &c., has 9000 taëls. After paying the court, the civil service, and the army, the Board of Revenue has to issue relief to those districts of the empire which have suffered from drought, inundation, locusts, or earthquakes. The various sources of regular income appear to be inadequate to the necessities of the state, and hence the need of resorting to unacknowledged fees and assessments. "His present majesty on his accession," observes Dr. Morrison, "ordered all fees to be discontinued; but he did so by the advice of a novice. All the governors of provinces immediately memorialized, and declared the orders utterly impracticable. The emperor then turned round, confessed his inexperience, censured his adviser, and revoked the order."

It has been observed before, that the Tartar soldiers are paid, in part, by grants of land. In western Tartary, parties of military, of 800 or 1000, are settled down to cultivate the waste lands, serving at the same time to control the native population. They generally produce grain enough for their own subsistence.

* *Ta-tsing Hoey-tien.*

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Soong-ta-jin (the conductor of Lord Macartney) recommended that each man should have a piece of land given him as a perpetual inheritance; but the government objected, on the ground that he would neglect martial exercises to cultivate his private farm; and that region (they added) was too important to intrust to undisciplined troops. The Chinese troops settled towards the Russian frontier, from the Saghalian westward, are generally agriculturists. To a station on that river some criminals were sent, to be coerced by the regular troops, and to work for them. They behaved well, and the Emperor *Yoong-ching* (the third of the Manchows) forgave their crimes, and granted them lands. He remarked on that occasion, "It may be seen from this occurrence, that, if criminals have a path of self-renovation opened to them, there is reason to hope they will reform their vices and become moral."

Some mode of increasing its regular income has of late attracted the serious attention of the government of China. In a Peking gazette,* dated the 11th October, 1833, there appeared the result of deliberations between the several supreme boards, and that particular one which has especial charge of the revenue. They had formed a committee of ways and means, and the object was to increase the income for current expenses, because, during the last few years, the outlay had exceeded the receipts by more than thirty millions of taëls. They were, in short, employed upon the great problem of government, which has been thus defined,—"à prendre le plus d'argent qu'on peut à une grande partie des citoyens, pour le donner à une autre partie." The defalcation is attributed, and with apparent reason, to the suppression of two rebellions among the Mahomedan Tartars, adherents of Jehanghir Khojah, and to the inroads of the Meaoutse, north-west of Canton. But, besides these sources of expense, there has been an unprecedented train of

* Chinese Repository, vol. ii. p. 430.

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calamities in the shape of deluge and drought, making it necessary to remit large amounts of land-tax in different provinces; while the repairs of the Yellow River, and its neighbouring streams, drained both the general and provincial treasuries. Expense was thus increased, at the same time that income was diminished.

The expedient that has been adopted for raising money, being directly contrary to what may be termed the leading principle of the Chinese system, that of eligibility to office by learning and talent alone, may perhaps be considered as boding ill to the present rulers of the country. The rank of *Kiujin*, which qualifies for employment, and, by the fundamental law of the country, should be attainable by no other road than that of approved learning, has been lately *sold for money*, as offices in France were under the old régime. But so opposed is this to the universal sentiment of the empire, and to the expectations of the proper candidates for employment, that a short limit is set to the period of its exercise. On the occasion in question, the term was restricted to about nine months. The system is considered altogether bad. Many of the old purchasers remain unemployed; and those who get into office, having bought their places, deem it but fair to repay themselves as fast as possible from the people. Various other expedients have been proposed; some were for opening the mines; some advised raising the price of salt; others recommended that rich merchants and monopolists should subscribe for the wants of the state. It has been already mentioned, that one or two of the Hong merchants obtained the decoration of the peacock's feather for contributing a round sum towards the military operations against the mountaineers. The present government of the country is evidently hard pressed for means, and would be distressed by any unusual draft on its resources.

Although, as we have before endeavoured to demonstrate, the very different condition of China in

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respect to wealth and prosperity argues a system of government much superior to what prevails under other Asiatic despotisms; although, as long as we are to judge of the tree by its fruits, a large share of good government *must* be the general rule; it is evident that the rule is not without its exceptions. The emperor—the theoretical father of his people—does not find it so easy *openly* to impose new taxes as his necessities may require them; and his power, though absolute in name, is limited in reality by the endurance of the people, and by the laws of necessity. Our own country has proved the fact of the largest amount of direct taxation being levied under a limited monarchy, and through the delegates of the people themselves; and the English House of Commons has done a great deal more than the emperor of China could probably *attempt* with safety. He is therefore obliged, to a certain extent, and on particular occasions, to let functionaries pay *themselves*—the worst possible form of taxation. The real amount, levied in this manner from the people, becomes greater than the nominal, and the excess is incalculably more mischievous than if fairly and directly obtained. In reference to this system and its consequences, the Chinese have a saying, that "the greater fish eat the smaller; the smaller eat the shrimps; and the shrimps are obliged to eat mud." It may be presumed that the expulsion of the Tartars is the only likely way to a remedy.

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CHAPTER XXII.

COMMERCE.

The government of China issues no other coin than the base metal *Tchen*, composed of copper and zinc, with perhaps some lead, and in value considerably less than the tenth part of a penny.* On one side is the title of the reigning emperor, with two words denoting "current value," while the reverse bears a Tartar inscription. In the centre of each of these coins is a square hole, through which they are strung together by hundreds to save counting, and in this state look something like strings of sausages. Many years ago, a specimen of a single coin having by some chance been dropped in an unfrequented part of the United Kingdom, the person who picked it up carried the mystery to a learned antiquary, who having written a long essay on the subject, in which every conjecture was hazarded but the true one, a representation of the strange coin, with the essay appended, was published in a standard work of some eminence. With a view to diminish the chance of such a mistake for the future, a fac-simile of the

* It appears that the white shells called *cowries* have been, and perhaps still are, in use as a medium of exchange about the provinces bordering on India and Ava, particularly Yunnân. They are called by the Chinese *hae-fei*, "fat of the sea," and three of them seem to have been exchanged for one copper coin.

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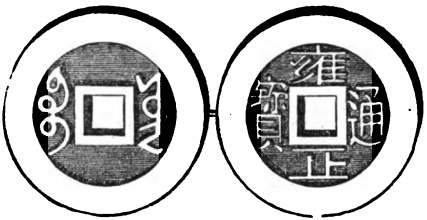
coinage of one of the Manchow emperors is here given:—



The curious, as in other countries, make collections of the ancient copper coin, in the order of succession of the reigns under which they were issued. It is said, however, that there are fabricators of these, as well as of numerous other antiques, of which the Chinese are so fond. A series, mounting up beyond the Christian era, has been brought to England; and if a string of *tchen* taken at hazard be examined, it will often be found to contain some coins of an ancient date. During former periods of Chinese history, money seems to have been made of other materials besides copper, being coined into a great variety of shapes, with symbolical figures of various animals. So greatly has the current coin of the reigning dynasty been debased compared with its nominal value, that the greatest difficulty is experienced in repressing the practice of forging it. In the Peking Gazette for June, 1824, there is the confession of a convicted forger, who declares that, "being in great want, he, in concert with a former acquaintance, agreed on a plan for counterfeiting old worn-out *tchen* by casting lead, which being smuggled into circulation, they were to share the profits. They procured a stone and made a mould for the coin, and, their instruments being ready, they hired an empty apartment attached to a temple, and there coined upwards of 7000 tchen;

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but, soon after putting these in circulation, they were seized with all their tools."

In the same year there appeared a curious paper from the viceroy of Fokien to the emperor, being "A report concerning the depreciation of the current *tchen* in comparison with silver bullion, requesting the imperial assent to a temporary suspension of the coinage, with a view to prevent needless waste. In the provincial mint (for it seems there is one in each province) the average coinage of ten days had been 1200 strings of *tchen* (each string containing 1000, or ten divisions of 100 each), and therefore the total coinage of one year averaged 43,200 strings (or 43,200,000 *tchen*), the use of which had been to pay the militia of the province. In order to procure the copper and zinc required for coinage, officers had been regularly deputed to Yun-nân and Hoo-pĕ; and it was calculated that the expenses of transmission and coinage, added to the cost of the metal, had amounted, on an average, to 1 taël and 261 parts (in silver) for every 1000 *tchen*. But the present market value of fine silver, in exchange for the coin, was only 1 taël weight for 1240 *tchen;* this difference being added to the above, the total disadvantage amounted to more than 500 parts in each taël, and the annual loss in the province to 20,000 taëls." To understand this, it must be observed that 1000 *tchen* ought to purchase or represent 1 taël of fine silver, but that more than 1500 were now required for that purpose, including the first cost of the coin to the government.

The viceroy then alludes to an inconvenience arising from the bulk of the base metal coin, in comparison with its value; in which respect it somewhat resembles the iron money of Sparta. "The province of Fokien," observes the Chinese functionary, "being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great; and the merchants who resort hither with their goods, finding it inconvenient to carry back such a weight of coin, exchange it for silver as a more portable remittance; in consequence

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of which silver and copper coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values; the former rising, and the latter falling to an unusual degree. It has always been the rule (he adds) to pay the militia in coin, at the rate of 1000 for a taël of silver; but now, a taël of silver in the market being worth 1240 *tchen*, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their coin for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance." The remedy proposed by the viceroy was, that the mint should be shut, and all farther coinage suspended; the militia receiving their pay in silver, until the relative values of silver and *tchen* approached nearer to a par.

The only coin of the country being copper, it follows that all transactions, beyond mere daily marketing and the lowest class of payments, must be carried on by a *weight* of silver, of which the taël expresses one Chinese ounce, divided decimally into 10 *mace* (in the language of Canton), which are still farther divided into 10 *candareens*—the names of weights and not coins; so that 10 copper *tchen* should, in exchange, equal 1 *candareen* of silver; 100 should equal 1 *mace;* and 1000 should pass for 1 taël; though, from the paper before quoted, it seems the exchange *varies* between copper and silver. It has appeared impossible to establish a silver coin in the country, from the unconquerable propensity of the people to play tricks with anything more valuable than their base copper money: indeed, we have seen that they forge even *that*. On the introduction of Spanish dollars in commerce, they were at first found to be so convenient, that the coinage of dollars in imitation was for a time allowed; but, though these commenced at a higher rate than the foreign dollars, they soon sank greatly below the standard, while the foreign coin preserved its wonted degree of purity.* The manufacture of imitation-dollars, being now prohibited, is still carried

* Chinese Commercial Guide, p. 64.

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on to a considerable extent. Some are alloyed with lead, while others are made of base metal and coated with silver. The Spanish dollars imported at Canton very soon become punched into such a state, with the private marks of all those through whose hands they pass, as to be saleable only by weight. The fraudulent Chinese even introduce bits of lead into the punch-holes, and none but freshly-imported dollars can ever be received but with a very strict examination called shroffing.

The smallest payments in the interior, if not made in the copper *tchen*, are effected by exchanging bits of silver, whose weight is ascertained by a little ivory balance, on the principle of the steel-yard. The astonishing inconvenience of such a system might have been expected to lead to a silver coinage; but it still continues, and in this want of a circulating medium may perhaps be sought the real cause of so much being effected by barter, as well as of the payment of a considerable portion of taxes and rents, and other obligations, in produce instead of money. Those payments to government, which are not made in kind, are in silver of a prescribed rate of fineness. This is cast in stamped ingots of one and ten taëls in weight, of which ninety-eight parts in one hundred must be of pure silver, the alloy being therefore only two per cent. The *Sysee*, as it is called at Canton, paid in exchange for opium, and sent home in considerable quantities to this country, is of the same description of bullion; and as it was found, on assay at the Bank, to contain a considerable admixture of gold, which the Chinese had not been able to detect or separate, it has proved very profitable to the importers, raising the premium on *Sysee* in China to five or six per cent. With the imperfect means that exist there, of ascertaining the real quality of the bar-silver received in exchange for opium, it is only surprising that it should have turned out rather *above* than *below* the stipulated value.

Besides the inferior grade of pawnbrokers, there are

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in every considerable town a respectable class of what are called "money-shops," approaching in some degree to our private banking establishments. Officers charged with the collection of the revenue deposit with these the receipts on account of taxes and duties; and the money-shop is paid by a liberal allowance for waste, in melting and reducing the silver to the quality of government *Sysee*, for the purity of which it is responsible. "Taxes are generally handed over to them by the government; mercantile duties are frequently paid into their banks by the merchants from whom they are owing; and the banker in such case gives the merchant a receipt for the amount, accompanied by a certificate that it shall be paid to government within a certain period. The refined silver is cast into ingots, and stamped with the name of the banker and date of refining. Should any deception be afterwards discovered, at whatever distance of time, the refiner is liable to severe punishment. . . . . From private individuals these banks either receive deposits drawable at will, in which case no interest is allowed, or they take money at interest not exceeding twelve per cent., in which case some days' notice must be given before any portion can be withdrawn. They do not appear to differ materially in any respect from similar establishments in Europe; but there are no chartered or privileged banking companies. Paper money has formerly been issued by the government, but is not now known."*

Allusion was made, in the first chapter, to the paper-money issued by the Mongol conquerors of China, as mentioned by the Arabian traveller, Ibn Batuta, who states that all the silver coin had vanished from the circulation, and been melted down, in consequence of the depreciation which took place in the paper from over-issues. Marco Polo gives the following distinct account of the same paper-money:—"In this city of Kambalu is the mint of the Grand Khân,

* Chinese Commercial Guide, p. 66.

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who may be said to possess the secret of the alchymists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process: he causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This, being steeped and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling that which is manufactured from cotton, but much darker. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois; the next size for a Venetian groat; others for two, five, and ten groats; others for one, two, three, and as far as ten *besants* of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and, when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer deputed by his majesty having dipped into vermilion* the royal seal committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal tinged with the vermilion remains impressed upon it; by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence.

"When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of his majesty's dominions, nor dares any person at the peril of his life refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for. . . . . When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money, which from long use has

* This is exactly the mode of sealing at the present day.

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become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only three per cent., they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as of drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they, in like manner, apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver. Upon these grounds it may certainly be affirmed that the Grand Khân has a more extensive command of treasure than any other sovereign in the universe."* When Marco wrote, it is probable that the abuse of the system had not taken place, and that the paper money still retained its credit.

The shops of pawnbrokers are at present very numerous in China, but they are under strict regulations, and any one acting without a licence is liable to severe punishment. The usual period allowed for the redemption of the pawned goods is three years; and this being compulsory on them by law, is said to be injurious, as the pledges must often lose their value by the length of time. The highest legal rate of interest on deposits is three per cent. per month; but in winter months, the money advanced on wearing apparel may not exceed two per cent., on the alleged ground that poor persons may be able the more easily to redeem. These pawn-shops have the usual effect, at Canton, of affording facilities to thieving; and it is only surprising that native servants have been there found so generally honest under all the circumstances. The Chinese principle of *responsibility*, however, comes into play, and becomes the more necessary on account of the facility of escape beyond the reach of any European. No native servant is hired by prudent persons without being *secured*, that is, without some trustworthy individual being responsible for him; and so

* Marsden's edition, p. 353.

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perfectly familiar and habitual is this to all, that they recognise the obligation in its fullest extent, and violate it less often than might be expected.

The legal limit to the rate of interest is three per cent. per mensem, and thirty per cent. per annum; but this of course is very seldom reached, except in pawning, and other such short loans. Whatever number of years may have elapsed, the government does not enforce any claim for interest accumulated beyond the amount of the principal, or, in Chinese phrase, "the offspring must not be greater than the mother;"* and all compound interest is unlawful. The ordinary rate of interest at Canton is from twelve to fifteen per cent., which alone seems very high, and must be ascribed to the scarcity of large capitalists in a country where the subdivision of property is carried so far, as well as to the general insecurity of loans. Where the nature of private credit is not very good, the system of lending on *pledges* prevails more generally, as it does in China, and pawnbroking ascends much higher in the scale of the community; just as Lombard-street was once composed of pawnbrokers' shops. According to the *Mémoires sur les Chinois*,† the motive of the government in legalising such a high rate of interest as that above stated, is "partly to facilitate loans, and partly to discourage luxury and prodigality, by hastening the ruin of such as borrow merely to spend."

Sir George Staunton, in a note to his translation of the Chinese law of usury, accounts in the following manner for the high limit fixed by the Code: "The rate of interest upon a pecuniary loan must, generally speaking, be influenced by a two-fold consideration. Besides what is considered to be strictly equivalent to the advantage arising from the use of the money, the lender must be supposed, in most cases, to receive

* This idea is not peculiar to China: "Que de *filles*, O Dieu, mes pièces de monnoie ont produites! Voyez, la plupart sont déjà aussi grandes que leurs *mères*."

† Vol. iv. p. 299.

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likewise a certain compensation for the risk to which he exposes his principal. The former consideration will always be limited by, and bear a certain ratio to, the peculiar state and degree of the general prosperity of the country; but the latter can evidently be determined by no rule or proportion which does not include the consideration of the relative situation and circumstances of the parties interested in the transaction. In England, indeed, where the security of property and the exclusive rights of individuals are so well understood and so effectually protected by the laws, it may in general be almost as easy to guard against risk as to compensate for it. But in China, where the rights connected with property are comparatively vague and undefined, and, being distinct from the source of power and influence, are less the object of the law's regard—where, owing to the subdivision of property, there are few great capitalists—and where also there is but little individual confidence, except between relations, who, holding their patrimony in some degree in common, can scarcely be considered as borrowers or lenders in the eye of the law—it is not so surprising that it should be deemed expedient to license in pecuniary transactions the insertion of stipulations for very ample interest; and in point of fact there is no doubt that the law in this respect, indulgent as it is, is frequently infringed upon.

"In a state of things so unfavourable to the accumulation and transfer of property there cannot at any time be much floating capital; and the value of that capital, as far as it is denoted by the interest which it bears, it is natural to expect will be high in proportion to its scarcity: in other words, where there are many borrowers and few lenders, and where it forms no part of the system of government to grant to the former any peculiar degree of protection or encouragement, it seems a necessary consequence that the latter will both demand and obtain a more than ordinary compensation in return for the use of their property. Trade, therefore, as far as it requires such aid, cannot

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be so extensively carried on as it is in those countries in which, there being more available capital, that capital is procurable at a cheaper rate, and accordingly a smaller return of profit is found adequate to the charges of commercial adventure."

The *internal* trade of a vast country like China, governed on such exclusive principles, must of course constitute the principal part of its commerce. The European trade at Canton is almost nothing when compared with the extent of the empire, and the amount of its population; and the foreign intercourse that is carried on in native junks is limited by the imperfections of nautical science and skill, as well as by the unfitness of the vessels themselves, and the discouragement to all external adventure. The visits of the junks to neighbouring countries do not extend beyond Japan to the north, the Luconian islands to the east, Batavia to the south, and the Straits of Malacca to the west. To Japan they sail in June and July, taking their departure from Ningpo and Amoy, laden with silk piece-goods, china-ware, and sugar, together with drugs, as rhubarb and ginseng; to which is added the sandal-wood imported before from India and the South-sea Islands, in English and American ships. To Luconia they take a variety of goods, bringing back nothing but rice or dollars. Between China and Batavia, a junk never sails either way except in the favourable monsoon, quitting its own shores in February or March, and returning in July. The exports are tea, chinaware, and drugs of various kinds, in return for what is called at Canton "Straits' produce," as areca-nuts, rattans, edible bird's-nests, pepper, &c. Within a late period, a considerable trade in junks has originated with Sincapore, interfering probably with that formerly carried on with Batavia.

It has been remarked that raw produce of all kinds has generally found a better market in China than foreign manufactured goods. Those laws which forbid the use of things not sanctioned by custom, added

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to the usual pride and self-sufficiency of the people, are a bar in most cases to the extended consumption of European manufactures. It is enacted in the Penal Code, that "the houses, apartments, vehicles, dress, furniture, and other articles used by the officers of government, and by the people in general, shall be conformable to established rules."* The translator observes in a note, "It is certain that, generally speaking, the pleasure which the possessor of superior wealth may be supposed to derive from the display of it, a Chinese, whatever his situation, is in a great measure, if not wholly, prevented from enjoying." It is rather in the necessaries than the superfluities of life that they generally deal, and that great variety of climate within the empire, which makes the northern and southern provinces dependent on each other for supplies, renders the whole country at the same time independent of foreigners. The south provides the great staple of rice, as well as sugar; the east furnishes silk, cotton, and tea; the west, metals and minerals; and the north, furs, and a variety of drugs whose growth is unsuited to a warmer climate.

The transit-duties on this internal commerce afford a very considerable revenue to the government, and were perhaps first suggested by the expense of constructing the Grand Canal. They now extend to nearly all articles of consumption, and it has been calculated that the addition made to the price of tea, at Canton, by government charges, as well as by the long and laborious carriage from the provinces where it is grown (but from which we are interdicted), amounts to 150,000*l.* on black teas alone. The labour and expense of transport, independently of the duties, may be gathered from the description of the difficulties encountered by the boats of the embassy of 1793, in passing up the river towards the frontier pass of Chĕ-keang province. "After seven days of tedious navigation," says Barrow, "if dragging by main strength over a pebbly bottom, on which the boats

* *Leu-lee*, sect. 175.

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were constantly aground, and against a rapid stream, could be so called, we came to its source near the city of Chang-shan Hien." The same difficulties are experienced up the other stream, in Keang-sy, towards the Mei-ling pass. As we ascended the river in 1816, files of men stood with large iron hoes on each side of the boats, scraping a channel for them through the pebbly bottom.

"We are confined at Canton," it has been observed, "to a single port of a single province—that single province divided from the rest of the empire by a barrier of high mountains, and chosen purposely by the Chinese government as the point farthest distant from the capital. In order to be consumed at Peking, where the coldness of the climate would render them most useful, our woollens must travel a distance of 1200 miles, and cross the mountainous barrier, at the foot of which they are unladen from boats, and carried on men's shoulders across the pass called Mei-ling. The consequence is, that only one-ninth of our woollen exports is consumed in the northern provinces, including the capital, as proved by Mr. Ball, who after much minute inquiry demonstrated the advantages that might accrue to our trade, could the Chinese government be persuaded to admit us to a port farther north, and nearer to the tea-provinces. He has clearly proved, what might always have been surmised, that Canton from its geographical situation is 'of all other ports the most unfavourable to European trade.' Our metals, as they will not bear the expense of transport, are almost entirely consumed in the province where they are landed; and hence their very limited amount." But the expense of carriage is only a part of the disadvantage, for to that must be added the government-dues. "It is not to be supposed," as Mr. Ball observes, "that any reduction can be effected in the transport-duties. The Chinese are unlikely to grant privileges to foreigners which necessarily entail a loss on themselves."*

* Quarterly Review, vol. xlii. p. 153.

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The policy of the Tartar dynasty in having been the first to confine the European trade with such obstinacy to a point so unsuited to its extension, may be explained on two grounds: first, the desire to remove the danger of external involvements from the vicinity of the capital; secondly, as above, to derive the largest possible revenue from internal transit. The direct annual revenue accruing from Canton has been ascertained to exceed 1,200,000 taëls on *imports* alone; but this bears no proportion to other gains of an indirect nature.* Contributions are exacted from the Hong merchants under various names, as "Uses of the army," "Yellow river," "Imperial tribute," &c.: and the *Consoo* fund, at first intended as a provision for defraying the debts of bankrupt Hongs, is a rich source of revenue to the Chinese, as well as a heavy loss to our own trade; besides which, the inferior offices of the customs at Canton, being farmed out, are necessarily maintained by irregular charges on European commerce.

As the Consoo fund owed its origin to the particular constitution of that set of monopolists called Hong merchants, it is proper to observe, that this body and

* The true way to estimate the importance of the Canton trade to the Chinese is rather by the quantity of tea exported, than by that of imports from abroad. Were the forty or fifty millions of pounds-weight annually taken away of an article into whose manufacture human labour enters so largely, thrown back on their hands, the consequences would be disastrous. We must include, besides, all the labour and capital employed in transporting it by land from a distance of five or six hundred miles. Yet the exclusion of *one* European nation would make no difference to the Chinese with respect to the effectual demand for their tea, since there would be *others* ready to take it up immediately. The Americans themselves would be happy to become carriers for us; and, accordingly, there is no danger of our being shut out from the *supply* of that article, even in the event of a rupture with China; the loss would consist in the suspended employment of British capital and commercial shipping.

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their privileges have originated as much in the peculiar policy of the government as in the cupidity of the individuals themselves. The pride and jealousy of the rulers of the country have kept them studiously aloof from a direct intercourse with foreigners, finding it most convenient to throw the trouble and responsibility of managing persons, of whom they stand in great fear and dislike, on subordinate delegates, and to practise their impositions through this inferior channel. The Hongs consist at present of eleven individuals, of very different degrees of wealth and character; they do not form a joint-stock company, but are licensed to trade individually; although the whole body was, until the year 1830, liable for all the foreign debts of each member. This liability was then very much relaxed, as it was found that such a responsibility on the part of the body had given to the poorer members a degree of credit, and a facility in obtaining loans from Europeans, which had been the principal cause of the numerous bankruptcies, either real or fraudulent, among the indigent or improvident Hongs. In the year 1837, as already detailed in the fourth chapter, a fresh claim was raised by the foreigners against two bankrupt Hongs, to the amount of about three millions of dollars; and after much trouble the Consoo became liable for the payment, but with an extended term of between eight and ten years. This immense debt remains unpaid.

The Consoo fund, whence such large sums have been drawn, in the liquidation of debts incurred by ruined or dishonest merchants, is derived from charges amounting to about three per cent., laid by the body of Hong merchants on foreign exports and imports; and hence it becomes a severe burden on the fair trade of Canton. Instead of being allowed to terminate with the liquidation of the debts for which they were first levied, it seems that these charges have continued in full force, and served to meet the increased demands of the government on the Consoo. Under these circumstances, there can be no room for

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surprise at the pertinacity with which the provincial authorities support a monopoly so profitable and convenient to themselves; and by means of which they can benefit at the expense of Europeans, without coming into direct collision with a race who are not disposed to accord those acts of deference and homage so grateful to the pride of Chinese rulers.

But, in addition to the duties levied, the port-charges and other expenses attending shipping in the rivers are extremely heavy. The routine of a vessel's arrival, and her preliminary arrangements, may be shortly stated. On nearing the coast from the southward, the Ladrones, two small but lofty islands, are first made. A point lying south-east of Macao, called *Cabrita* by the Portuguese, is then passed; and off the town is an exposed anchorage of from three to four fathoms. Ships send their boats ashore at Macao for a Chinese pilot, who is not often procured until the next morning; and therefore, when the weather is bad, vessels run up at once to Lintin for shelter. The charts, constructed at the charge of the East India Company, afford ample directions for piloting a ship to Whampoa; and the pilots are only fishermen, employed by those who understand nothing of the business themselves, but who take out a government licence, and who thus enjoy a monopoly in return for the responsibilities which they incur; for, if a ship misbehaves, the pilot is bambooed. Without a pilot, no merchantman is allowed to pass the batteries at the entrance of the river: the pilotage inward is sixty dollars, and the same outward, or about 30*l.* in all.

On anchoring at Whampoa, about ten miles below Canton, two boats from the officers of the local authorities hook on astern of each ship. It is their business to act as spies on the vessel, and to prevent smuggling and other illegalities. A comprador, or purveyor of provisions, is generally hired; but a fee of fifty dollars is in any case paid, to meet the extortions of the mandarins. It is stated in the Chinese Commercial Guide, that when a shipmaster or super-

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cargo does not hire a factory at Canton, the further sum of ninety-six dollars must be disbursed, to pay the demand of the custom-house people for a house comprador.* In some cases this is paid by the *security* merchant of the ship, and he finds means of reimbursing himself, in his transactions with the agent or master of the vessel. This security-merchant must be one of the Hongists, who is held responsible for the payment of all fees and duties connected with the ship, as well as for the conduct of every European or other foreigner on board.

Another functionary remains to be mentioned, under the name of *linguist*, who seems to be so called rather on account of the absence, than the presence, of those accomplishments which are usually implied by the term; for these persons cannot write English at all, and speak it scarcely intelligibly. The linguists (observes the Commercial Guide), like the Hong merchants, are obliged to pay largely for their licences, and are besides liable to heavy exactions, chiefly from the underlings of office, as the Hong merchants are the prey of the higher officers. They also have the same difficulty in obtaining leave to retire from business, though in a less degree. The Hong merchants are required to be sureties for the linguists before the latter can obtain their licences. The business of the linguists is to procure permits for delivering or shipping cargo, to transact all affairs with the custom-house, and to keep accounts of the duties and port-charges; and every ship is compelled to pay 173 dollars, or about 40*l*., as a fee to its own linguist. Some time after reaching Whampoa, each vessel is *measured* by the Hoppo's officers, for the levying of the port-charges. On a ship of 850 tons, these charges, in addition to the various disbursements above stated, amount altogether to nearly 5000 dollars, or between 800*l*. and 1000*l*. sterling!

It is clear that such heavy exactions must hold out

* Page 15.

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the strongest inducements to all ships, but especially small ones, on which they fall the heaviest, to evade them if possible; and to the influence of this cause, joined to the contraband nature of the opium trade, is to be ascribed the rapid growth of the smuggling dépôt at Lintin, which commenced about the year 1822. As if to give an additional impulse to the increase of this smuggling station, the Chinese government, in consequence of the scarcity of rice in 1825, enacted that ships bringing rice, and *no other goods*, should be exempted from the port-charges at Whampoa. Vessels accordingly now station themselves at Lintin, below the mouth of the river, laden with rice, which they sell in sufficient quantities to other vessels, newly arrived, to exempt them from those port-charges; while the real cargoes are either left at Lintin to be smuggled in, or put on board other ships which fill themselves up entirely on freight for Whampoa. It is clear that this extraordinary advantage in favour

[Cargo-boat.]

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of rice must operate against the importation of foreign manufactures in fair trade.

It was observed at Canton, soon after the commencement of this strange system, that "if the illegal commerce should continue to increase, through the abilities of the natives as smugglers, and the extreme corruption of the lowest custom-house officers, whose duty it is to put them down, there is every probability that the illicit traffic in this country will arrive at a height to interfere most materially with the revenues derived from foreign trade, and the emoluments which the government have previously obtained from it. Cargoes are now constantly carried down in ships from Whampoa to other ships, at an appointed rendezvous among the islands, where the goods are transhipped, and all port-charges thus evaded by the vessel which receives them. Under any other than the existing system (in 1826), it may be supposed that the trade to China would become nearly a smuggling traffic altogether, until the government of the country were compelled to resort to extreme measures for the protection of its own interests." Since the opening of the trade, the experiment has begun to have a fair trial. The provincial authorities in 1834 betrayed considerable alarm at the increase of the smuggling system at Lintin, and this alarm was no doubt founded, first, in the evils arising from the lawless, independent, and violent habits which such a system engenders; and, secondly, in the prospect of a decrease or annihilation of the revenue derived from the fair trade.

The Chinese Commercial Guide printed about that time observes, "The opening of the China trade to British shipping will probably, so long as the present vexatious restrictions continue in force at Whampoa, lead to such an increased amount of general trade at Lintin as to require dépôts for other goods besides opium. Such goods are now brought to Lintin by vessels not entering the port; and by vessels which,

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to avoid the measurement and other charges, enter as *rice-ships*. These goods are variously disposed of, some being sold to the native smugglers outside, and some brought to Whampoa in other foreign vessels." It is the universal corruption of the government officers of Canton, in the article of opium, that makes it so difficult to stop the rest of the contraband trade near that port. On other parts of the coast, the attempts to smuggle have not often been successful. The Commercial Guide observes, "that the control of the government over the people is too oppressive to permit them to run the risk of purchasing except where they can obtain large profits. Hence *opium* is chiefly in demand; while even rice, though carried to the thickly-peopled and almost barren districts of the coast of Fokien, has never found a ready or remunerating market."

The progress of time alone can show if greater success is to be expected, in the attempts to introduce European manufactures on the east coast, than has attended recent experiments. The late Dr. Morrison observed, as far back as 1823, that "the opening of any ports to the north (eastward) for the resort of European ships, is not a likely occurrence while the present rulers of China reign. They will not even allow tea to be carried coastwise to the south, from the ports near to the places of growth, lest the traders should carry their cargoes to European ships or ports, and so deprive government of the revenue arising from the inland carriage; but most of all, lest a 'traitorous intercourse' with Europeans should be opened, and the tea get into the possession of the English without passing through the Canton custom-house." Down to the present year, 1840, the opium smuggling on the coast has gradually increased, until its exclusion from Canton by Commissioner Lin has driven the whole of it to the eastward. At the present time it appears to be carried on with great profit in armed ships, one of which is said to carry fourteen guns; and

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conflicts have occasionally taken place in which lives were lost; with all this, however, European manufactures are as unsaleable as ever!

In the experimental voyage of the *Amherst* we have before seen that, after a cruise of six or seven months along the whole coast, even to the neighbourhood of Peking, nearly the entire quantity of the few articles shipped were brought back as they went. Experiments were soon afterwards made by private individuals in imitation of the Company. A small vessel sold some opium in 1832, and proceeded as far as a port in Fokien. The supercargo in vain sought some channel of trade; his views were frustrated by the vigilance of the government. He observed, on his return, through the local newspaper of Canton, "My mind is made up that, until some important change in the relations of the two countries takes place, the only chance of pushing English manufactures on that coast is by having them as a small item in an opium cargo." Another small vessel proceeded up to the Yellow Sea, and even touched on the coast of Tartary, but her endeavours to trade were generally fruitless. A Mr. Gordon, who was dispatched from Bengal to procure tea-plants from the neighbourhood of the provinces where they are cultivated, saw a great deal of the attempts to trade on the coast; and he was of opinion that, without the consent of the Chinese government, any prospect of an advantageous or creditable intercourse did not exist.

The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for *opium*, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connexion with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first. The contraband trade (for opium has always been prohibited as hurtful to the health and morals of the people) was originally at Macao; but we have

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already seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium is kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place. From the following statement it will be seen that, while the quantity imported into China had increased more than five-fold, the average price had fallen to about one-half:—

Year.	Chests.		Dollars.	Total dollars.
1821 . . .	4,628,	average price	1,325 . . .	6,132,100
1825 . . .	9,621	,,	723 . . .	6,955,983
1830 . . .	18,760	,,	587 . . .	11,012,120
1832 . . .	23,670	,,	648 . . .	15,338,160

This had at length the effect of drawing the serious attention of the Peking government to the growing evil, and it seems certain that the aggregate value of the importation, which in 1832 exceeded the enormous amount of 15,000,000 dollars, or between three and four millions sterling, afterwards diminished for some time. From the original MS. translation of a Chinese state paper, the following abstract may be interesting. A late memorial to the emperor from one of the censors laid open the evil in all its deformity, and showed its prevalence among the officers of government—"I have learned," says he, "that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain it when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but, with a few whiffs, their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a surprising manner. Thus opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and, when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it.

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"The local officers sometimes receive bribes to connive at the practice, or they are induced in the same way to desist from a commenced prosecution. The greater number of traders, who carry about Canton goods for sale, smuggle opium with them; and when the magistrates seize opium-smokers, these declare they cannot identify the persons from whom they bought the drug. It is my humble opinion, that the injury done by opium is twice as great as that which results from gambling; therefore the offence of smoking it should not be more lightly punished than the other. Now the law provides, that gamblers shall declare where they obtained their gaming utensils, and unless they inform against the sellers they shall be considered as accomplices, and punished with a hundred blows, and three years' transportation. Every convicted gambler must be punished, under any circumstances, with eighty blows, and, if he be an official person, his punishment shall be increased one degree. But the opium-smoker, who will not inform against the seller, is simply pilloried and beaten for his own crime. I have therefore to propose the enactment, that all convicted opium-smokers, who declare that they do not know the names of the sellers, shall be considered as accomplices with them; and that, if the offenders be mandarins, or their dependents, they shall be punished one degree more severely. Thus may the severity of the law deter from the practice; the habitual smokers will not dare to persevere, and others will not venture to imitate their example.

"It seems that opium is almost entirely imported from abroad; worthless subordinates in offices, and nefarious traders, first introduced the abuse; young persons of family, wealthy citizens, and merchants adopted the custom; until at last it reached the common people. I have learned on inquiry, from scholars and official persons, that opium-smokers exist in all the provinces, but the larger proportion of these are to be found in the government offices; and that it

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would be a fallacy to suppose that there are not smokers among all ranks of civil and military officers, below the station of provincial governors and their deputies. The magistrates of districts issue proclamations, interdicting the clandestine sale of opium, at the same time that their kindred, and clerks, and servants smoke it as before. Then the nefarious traders make a pretext of the interdict for raising the price. The police, influenced by the people in the public offices, become the secret purchasers of opium, instead of labouring for its suppression; and thus all interdicts and regulations become vain."

The censor then recommended the following regulation to be passed, which, having been considered and approved by the Criminal Board, was confirmed by the emperor, and published in 1833 as the amended law upon the subject:—

"Let the buyers and smokers of opium be punished with one hundred blows, and pilloried for two months. Then let them declare the seller's name, that he may be seized and punished; and, in default of this declaration, let the smoker be punished, as an accomplice of the seller, with a hundred blows and three years' banishment. Let mandarins and their dependents, who buy and smoke opium, be punished one degree more severely than others; and let governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces, as well as the magistrates of subordinate districts, be required to give security that there are no opium-smokers in their respective departments. Let a joint memorial be sent in, at the close of every year, representing the conduct of those officers who have connived at the practice. The Criminal Board will communicate this decision to the Boards of Civil Appointments and Military Affairs; and a general order will be sent to the governors of all the provinces, that they may yield obedience, and act accordingly." It remained to be seen whether the increased severity of the law would operate in restraining or abolishing a habit whose prevalence had rendered opium the *only* article of

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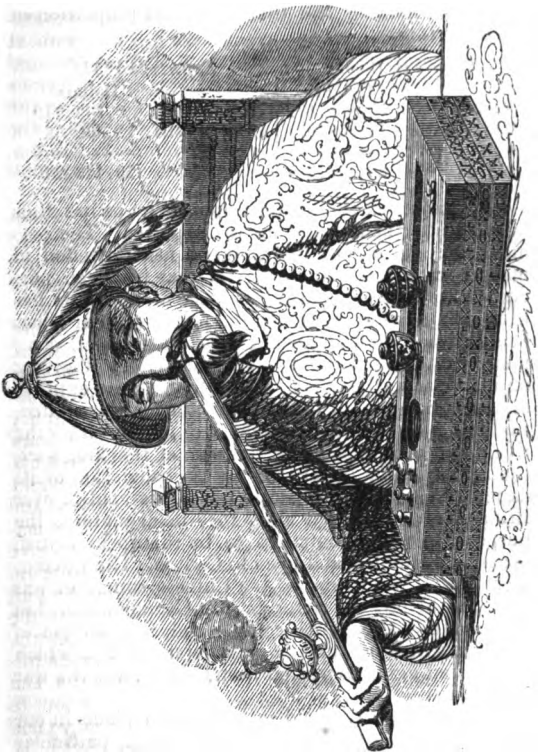
commerce that could be carried with success to the prohibited ports on the coast of China.



[Mandarin with Opium-pipe.]

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The following statement shows that opium has formed about *one-half* of the total value of British imports at Canton and Lintin, and that tea has constituted something less than the same proportion of our exports:—

Imports in 1833.	Dollars.	*Exports in* 1833.	Dollars.
Opium. . .	11,618,167	Tea	9,133,749
Other imports	11,858,077	Other exports.	11,309,521
	23,476,244		20,443,270

The amount of the opium imported by us has thus been greater than that of the tea exported. The pernicious drug, sold to the Chinese, has exceeded in market-value the wholesome leaf that has been purchased from them; and the balance of the trade has been paid to us in silver. In the fourth chapter it has been already shown that the free trade which commenced in 1834 had the immediate effect of giving an impetus to all kinds of smuggling, at the expense of the fair trade. The Company had always effectually prevented the introduction of opium *within* the river; but notwithstanding the wish of the king's authority at Canton (grounded on his conviction of its danger) to stop this desperate traffic, his control over British subjects proved altogether inadequate to the purpose. Opium continued to be run up in British boats to Whampoa, and even to Canton. The government was at length roused,—a Chinese smuggler was executed before the factories, and Commissioner Lin immediately afterwards commenced that course of violence which has already been detailed,* and which terminated in our expulsion from Canton, and the war with China.

As tea has always held so principal a place in our intercourse with China, it requires some particular consideration as an article of commerce. We have

* See chap. iv.

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seen before, that the fineness and dearness of tea* are determined by the tenderness and smallness of the leaf when picked. The various descriptions of the black diminish in quality and value as they are gathered later in the season, until they reach the lowest kind, called by us Bohea, and by the Chinese *Ta-cha*, "large tea," on account of the maturity and size of the leaves. The early leaf-buds in spring, being covered with a white silky down, are gathered to make Pekoe, which is a corruption of the Canton name *Pak-ho*, "white down." A few days' longer growth produces what is here styled "black-leaved pekoe." The more fleshy and matured leaves constitute Souchong; as they grow larger and coarser they form Congou; and the last and latest picking is Bohea. The tea-farmers, who are small proprietors or cultivators, give the tea a rough preparation, and then take it to the contractors, whose business it is to adapt its farther preparation to the existing nature of the demand. The different kinds of tea may be considered in the ascending scale of their value.

1. Bohea, which in England is the name of a *quality*, has been already stated to be, in China, the name of a *district* where various kinds of black tea are produced. The coarse leaf brought under that name to this country is distinguished by containing a larger proportion of the woody fibre than other teas; its infusion is of a darker colour, and as it has been more subjected to the action of fire, it keeps a longer time without becoming musty than the finer sorts. Two kinds of Bohea are brought from China: the lowest of these is manufactured on the spot, and therefore called "Canton Bohea," being a mixture of refuse Congou with a coarse tea called Woping, the growth of the province. The better kind of Bohea comes from the district of that name in Fokien, and, having been of late esteemed equally with the lower Congou teas, has

* See chap. XX.

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been packed in the same square chests, while the old Bohea package is of an oblong shape.

2. Congou, the next higher kind, is named from a corruption of the Chinese *Koong-foo*, "labour or assiduity." It formed for many years the bulk of the East India Company's cargoes; but the quality gradually fell off, in consequence of the partial abandonment of the old system of annual contracts, by which the Chinese merchants were assured of a remunerating price for the better sorts. The consumption of Bohea in this country has of late years increased, to the diminution of Congou, and the standard of the latter has been considerably lowered. A particular variety, called *Campoi*, is so called from a corruption of the original name *Kien-poey*, "selection—choice;" but it has ceased to be prized in this country, from the absence of strength—a characteristic which is stated to be generally esteemed beyond delicacy of flavour.

3. Souchong *(Seaou-choong*, "small, or scarce sort") is the finest of the stronger black teas, with a leaf that is generally entire and curly, but more young than in the coarser kinds. What is called "Padre Souchong" is packed in separate paper bundles, of about half a pound each, and is so fine as to be used almost exclusively for presents. The probability is, that its use in that way by the Catholic missionaries first gave rise to the name. The finest kinds of Souchong are sometimes scented with the flowers of the *Chloranthus inconspicuus*, and *Gardenia florida;* and they cannot be obtained, even among the Chinese, except at dear prices. A highly-crisped and curled leaf called *Sonchi* has lately grown into disrepute and been much disused, in consequence of being often found to contain a ferruginous dust, which was probably not intended as a fraud, but arose from the nature of the ground where the tea had been carelessly and dirtily packed.

4. Pekoe being composed mainly of the young spring-buds, the gathering of these must, of course, be injurious in some degree to the future produce of

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the shrub, and this description of tea is accordingly both dear and small in quantity. With a view to preserving the fineness of flavour, the application of heat is very limited in drying the leaves, and hence it is, that Pekoe is more liable to injury from keeping than any other sort of tea. There is a species of Pekoe made in the Green-tea country from the young buds, in like manner with the black kind; but it is so little fired that the least damp spoils it; and for this reason, as well as on account of its scarcity and high price, the Hyson-pekoe, as some call it, has never been brought to England. The mandarins send it in very small canisters to each other, or to their friends, as presents, under the name of *Loong-tsing*, which is probably the name of the district where the tea is made.

Green teas may generally be divided into five denominations, which are—1. Twankay; 2. Hyson-skin; 3. Hyson; 4. Gunpowder; 5. Young Hyson. Twankay tea has always formed the bulk of the green teas imported into this country, being used by the retailers to mix with the finer kinds. The leaf is older, and not so much twisted or rolled as in the dearer descriptions: there is altogether less care and trouble bestowed on its preparation. It is, in fact, the *Bohea* of green teas; and the quantity of it brought to England has fully equalled three-fourths of the whole importation of green. "Hyson-skin" is so named from the original Chinese term, in which connexion the *skin* means the *refuse*, or inferior portion of anything; in allusion, perhaps, to the hide of an animal, or the rind of fruit. In preparing the fine tea called Hyson, all those leaves that are of a coarser, yellower, and less twisted or rolled appearance, are set apart and sold as the refuse or 'skin-tea,' at a much inferior price. The whole quantity, therefore, depends on, and bears a proportion to the whole quantity of Hyson manufactured, but seldom exceeds two or three thousand chests in all.

The word Hyson is corrupted from the Chinese

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name, which signifies "flourishing spring," this fine sort of tea being of course gathered in the early part of the season. Every separate leaf is twisted and rolled by hand, and it is on account of the extreme care and labour required in its preparation that the best Hyson tea is so difficult to procure, and so expensive. By way of keeping up its quality, the East India Company used to give a premium for the two best lots annually presented to them for selection; and the tea-merchants were stimulated to exertion, as much by the credit of the thing, as by the actual gain in price. Gunpowder, as it is called, is nothing but a more carefully-picked Hyson, consisting of the best rolled and roundest leaves, which give it that *granular* appearance whence it derives its name. For a similar reason, the Chinese call it *Choocha*, "pearl-tea." Young Hyson, until it was spoiled by the large demand of the Americans, was a genuine delicate young leaf, called in the original language *Yu-tsien*, "before the rains," because gathered in the early spring. As it could not be fairly produced in any large quantities, the call for it on the part of the Americans was answered by cutting up and sifting *other* green tea through sieves of a certain size; and, as the Company's inspectors detected the imposture, it formed no portion of their London importations. But the abuse became still worse of late (as we shall presently see), for the coarsest *black* tea-leaves have been cut up, and then *coloured* with a preparation resembling the hue of green teas.

Nothing could be more ill-founded than the vulgar notion, once prevalent in this country, that the colour of green tea was derived from its being dried on plates of copper. Admitting that copper were the metal on which they were placed, it does not at all follow that they should assume such an appearance from the operation; but the pans really used on these occasions are of cast iron, of the same round or spherical shape as the tatch described under the head of Chemistry. Each of these pans is bricked in, over a small furnace.

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A quantity of fresh leaves are placed in the pan, after it has been sufficiently heated, and stirred rapidly round by the hand, to expose them equally to the action of the heat, and at the same time prevent their burning. After being a little curled by this drying operation, they are taken out and twisted or rolled by hand to assist the natural tendency; and the process of curling is continued for a longer or shorter time, according to the nature and quality of the tea. The hand seems to have most to do in the case of green teas, and the fire in that of the black. In the preparation of the finer teas, much care and attention is bestowed on the selection of the *best leaves* subsequent to drying; as in the separation of the Hyson from its *skin*, or refuse—a business which falls to the lot of women and children. The tea, when prepared, is first of all put up in baskets, and subsequently packed by the contractors in chests and canisters. The black teas are trodden down with the feet, to make them pack closer: but the green tea leaves would be crushed and broken by so rude a process; they are accordingly only shaken into the chests.

It is a question of some importance, how far a sudden increase in the demand for tea at Canton is calculated to injure its average quality. The essential services derived by the East India Company from their experienced inspectors, who from long practice acquired that readiness in discriminating the slightest shades of quality which nothing but practice can confer, have demonstrated the expediency of such professional persons being still employed under the free-trade system; by all those, at least, who are not rash enough to trust to themselves, or to the Chinese. One of the inspectors, Mr. Reeves, junior, informed the writer of this, at the close of 1833, that he had detected many attempts to pass off spurious or adulterated teas among the black kinds. The greater portion, indeed, of a particular description of tea, distinguished by the term *Ankoi*, was mixed with spu-

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rious leaves. These were of various kinds, but appeared generally to be largish leaves cut up, though it was found impossible to ascertain the trees or shrubs to which they belonged. The two most prevalent were a thick, soft, dark-green leaf, very smooth, and a palish hairy leaf, with the veins strongly marked. The former is not detected easily, and only by inspecting the leaves after infusion, as it imparts no bad smell to the tea, and is hardly perceptible even to the taste; the latter is readily discovered by its giving to the tea a "faint and odd" smell, as well as taste.

But this was nothing in comparison with the effrontery which the Chinese displayed in carrying on an extensive manufactory of *green* teas from *damaged black leaves*, at a village or suburb called Honân, exactly opposite to the European factories, but divided from them by the river. The remission of the tea duties in the United States occasioned, in the years 1832 and 1833, a demand for green teas at Canton which could not be supplied by the arrivals from the provinces. The Americans, however, were obliged to sail with cargoes of green teas within the favourable season; they were determined to have these teas; and the Chinese were determined they should be supplied. Certain rumours being afloat concerning the manufacture of green tea from old black leaves, the writer of this became curious to ascertain the truth, and with some difficulty persuaded a Hong merchant to conduct him, accompanied by one of the inspectors, to the place where the operation was carried on. Upon reaching the opposite side of the river, and entering one of these laboratories of factitious Hyson, the party were witnesses to a strange scene.

In the first place, large quantities of black tea, which had been damaged in consequence of the floods of the previous autumn, were drying in baskets with sieve bottoms, placed over pans of charcoal. The dried leaves were then transferred in portions of a few

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pounds each to a great number of cast-iron pans, imbedded in chunam or mortar, over furnaces. At each pan stood a workman stirring the tea rapidly round with his hand, having previously added a small quantity of *turmeric* in powder, which of course gave the leaves a yellowish or orange tinge; but they were still to be made green. For this purpose some lumps of a fine blue were produced, together with a white substance in powder, which from the names given to them by the workmen, as well as their appearance, were known at once to be *prussian blue* and *gypsum*.* These were triturated finely together with a small pestle, in such proportion as reduced the dark colour of the blue to a light shade; and a quantity equal to a small tea-spoonful of the powder being added to the yellowish leaves, these were stirred as before over the fire, until the tea had taken the fine bloom colour of Hyson, with very much the *same scent*. To prevent all possibility of error regarding the substances employed, samples of them, together with specimens of the leaves in each stage of the process, were carried away from the place.

The tea was then handed in small quantities, on broad shallow baskets, to a number of women and children, who carefully picked out the stalks, and coarse or uncurled leaves; and, when this had been done, it was passed in succession through sieves of different degrees of fineness. The first sifting produced what was sold as Hyson-skin, and the last bore the name of Young Hyson. As the party did not see the intermediate step between the picking and sifting, there is reason to believe that the size of the leaves was first reduced by chopping or cutting with shears. If the tea has not highly deleterious qualities, it can only be in consequence of the colouring matter existing in a small proportion to the leaf;† and the Chinese seemed quite conscious of the real character of the

* Prussiate of iron and sulphate of lime.

† The turmeric and gypsum are perfectly innocuous; but

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occupation in which they were engaged; for, on attempting to enter several other places where the same process was going on, the doors were speedily closed upon the party. Indeed, had it not been for the influence of the Hongist who conducted them, there would have been little chance of their seeing as much as they did.

It is an interesting and important question to determine, whether the same system of artificial colouring enters at all into the manufacture of the more genuine green teas brought to this country. Mr. Brande, in his skilful and minute analysis of black and green teas, detected the presence of a colouring substance in the samples of green upon which he operated, which, as far as it goes, is proof positive; and some presumptive proof is afforded by the peculiar properties so universally attributed to green tea, in its exercising a powerful and hurtful influence on the nervous system. One fact is well ascertained and undeniable: the Chinese themselves do not consume those kinds of green tea which are prepared for exportation. The *Yu-tsien* mentioned before, and the Pekoe made from the green-tea plant already described, have a yellower, and as it were a more *natural*, hue, than the bluish-green that distinguishes the elaborated teas imported by us. If deleterious substances are really used, our best safeguard consists in the minute proportions in which they must be combined with the leaves.

Of the 31,500,000 lbs. of tea which, on an average of the four last years of the Company's charter, were imported into this country, the proportion of green to black had been about one to five. Various reasons conduced to make the black a preferable article of consumption to the majority. It is not only cheaper than the green, but it abounds much more in that quality termed "strength," and is besides, with the

the prussian blue, being a combination of prussic acid with iron, is a poison.

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exception of the Pekoe kind, capable of being kept for a long time without any perceptible deterioration. It would be useless to pretend that the long sea-voyage, in which the equator is twice crossed, and the water in which the ship floats is often heated to between 80° and 90°, has no ill effect on tea cargoes. With an *absolute and complete* absence of all humidity, we know that heat has little or no decomposing effect; but such a state cannot be the ordinary characteristic of a ship's hold, as must be clear to all who have found the difficulty of preserving some articles from damage between this and India. Black tea is better able to contend with the chances of injury, to which a cargo may be exposed, than green.* It has generally been subjected in a much greater degree to the action of fire in drying, and has, besides, less delicacy of flavour than the other. Instances have been known of black tea being kept in this country for ten years, or even longer, without suffering perceptibly; and the Chinese themselves generally lay it by for a year in preference to using it fresh. There seems upon the whole little difficulty in accounting for the superior condition in which green tea, especially, is said to be found in Russia. The same circumstance of a land-journey, which makes it come dearer to the consumer,† tends at the same time to preserve its quality, for the region which it traverses is generally dry as well as cold.

In no instance has a greater revolution taken place in the habits of a people than in that which tea has effected within the last hundred years among the English. It was known, about the middle of the seventeenth century, rather as a curiosity than an article of use, as appears from an entry in Pepys's gossiping

* Some of the Company's finest Hyson teas were packed in double cases of wood besides the canisters.

† The lowest retail price at St. Petersburg is between five and six shillings English, and the highest is said to be above thirty-eight shillings per pound.

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Diary, dated 1661, in which the writer says that he "sent for a cup of tea, a Chinese drink, of which he had never drank before." About the beginning of the last century it came more into use; and the following statement exhibits the surprising strides which it has from time to time made, in the space of just one hundred years, towards its present universal consumption:—

	lbs.
1734	632,374
1746	2,358,589
1758	4,205,394
1768	6,892,075
1785	10,856,578
1800	20,358,702
1833	31,829,619

In 1806 the excise duty was raised to ninety per cent., and in 1819 to nearly one hundred per cent., on the sale price of all teas—a tax which must have had a powerful effect in checking the growth of consumption. In spite, however, of this, it is well known that the importations into this country have exceeded the aggregate consumption of the whole western world besides.* By a letter written from Siberia to Canton, in 1819, it appears that the quantity annually carried to Russia amounted to 66,000 chests, containing about 5,000,000 lbs., and no material increase has since taken place. The French trade with Canton seems lately to have shown a tendency to increase. A year or two since there were as many as four French ships at Whampoa or Lintin, where it was formerly unusual to see one; and a French consul has been appointed since 1828. Up to 1832, the consumption of tea in France barely equalled 250,000 lbs.; but a notion that it was an antidote to cholera is said to have brought it more into use.

In the year 1832, no less than seventeen Dutch ves-

* Since the opening of the trade, the tea duty has been reduced to 2*s.* a pound on all teas alike.

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sels visited China from Holland or Batavia, though the importations of tea into Holland do not exceed 2,000,000 lbs. per annum. A Danish ship now and then arrives at Whampoa; but the consumption of Denmark has been no greater than that of France. In all other countries of Europe, tea, if sold at all, is generally met with as a drug, and hardly looked upon by the merchants as an object of trade. Next to the British trade, the most considerable in tonnage and value at Canton has been that of the United States; subject, however, to fluctuations from which our own has been free. The remission of the tea duties, already alluded to, gave it, in 1833, a sudden stimulus, and the exports and imports at Canton, on the part of the Americans, each of them exceeded eight millions of dollars on board of nearly fifty small vessels. In consequence, however, of the losses sustained upon the teas, the American tonnage in the following year, 1834, was greatly reduced, nor was it expected very soon to reach its previous amount. The annual consumption of teas, in the United States, has been commonly estimated at about 8,000,000 lbs. Until the year 1824 our North American colonists, in Canada and Nova Scotia, were chiefly supplied with tea smuggled across the lakes from the northern states of the Union; but in that year the East India Company began to send an annual provision of about three ship-loads of cheap teas to Quebec and Halifax, which had the effect of altogether stopping the American supply.

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CHRONOLOGY

OF

AFFAIRS IN CHINA,

From 1831 *to the Signature of the Treaty of Nanking.*

THE following is a chronological statement of affairs from 1831 until the conclusion of the war Mr. Davis anticipated. The facts are principally taken from the "Chinese Repository," published at Macao.

1831.

August 27. Lord Wm. Bentinck wrote a letter to the governor of Canton, complaining of the conduct of the Chinese authorities, and requesting an investigation into the circumstances of the alleged insults offered to the British Factory.

1832.

Jan. 7. Governor of Canton issued an edict to the Hong merchants, explaining the destruction of the quay, denying the insult to the king's picture, and refusing to give any direct reply to the governor-general's letter; at the same time giving directions to communicate this edict to the English.

Feb. 9. An edict issued condemning the introduction of opium, and threatening to stop the foreign trade if it is persisted in.

1834.

April 22. The exclusive rights of the East India Company in China ceased.

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April 25. The first vessels in the free trade, laden with tea, set sail for England.

July 15. Lord Napier arrived at Macao, as chief superintendent of British commerce in China.

July 17. J. F. Davis, Esq., and Sir G. B. Robinson, accepted the offices of second and third superintendents the name of the former being in the commission

July 25. The superintendents arrive at Canton.

July 26. Lord Napier addressed a letter to the governor, notifying his appointment as superintendent, and requesting an interview. This letter, not being superscribed as a petition, was, after many efforts on the part of the British, rejected; all the Chinese authorities refusing even to touch it.

Aug. 18. An edict was issued, ordering Lord Napier to return to Macao, and threatening the usual alternative of stopping the trade.

Sept. 2. British trade stopped, and all intercourse with British subjects prohibited.

Sept. 5. Two British ships of war entered the Canton river, after silencing the batteries.

Sept. 12. Overtures made by the Chinese to accommodate matters.

Sept. 16. Lord Napier taken ill.

Sept. 19. At a conference between the Hong merchants acting on the part of the government, and some of the British gentlemen, an agreement was entered into that Lord Napier should leave Canton, and the trade be resumed.

Sept. 21. British vessels ordered to leave the river. Lord Napier left Canton in a boat provided by the Chinese authorities.

Sept. 26. Arrival at Macao of Lord Napier; his illness much increased by the studied delays and annoyances of the Chinese.

Oct. 11. Lord Napier died. Succeeded by Mr. Davis; Captain Elliot, secretary.

Nov. 7. An imperial mandate forbids all traffic in opium.

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1835.

Jan. 21. Part of the crew of the ship Argyle, which had anchored on the coast of China in consequence of sea damage, seized by the local authorities and detained.

Feb. 4. Capt. Elliot, now third superintendent, proceeding to Canton with the intention of demanding the restoration of the crew of the Argyle, was grossly assaulted by the authorities there, and forcibly removed.

Feb. 18. The crew of the Argyle restored.

Feb. 23. Several chests of opium which had been seized from the smugglers publicly burnt at Canton. During the remainder of this year and the whole of the year following, the British trade continued without interruption, the Chinese and British authorities rigidly abstaining from any communication with each other.

1836.

Jan. 29. The chief superintendent, Sir G. B. Robinson, in a dispatch to the British government, suggested the establishment of the commission in a vessel near the British shipping, free from all restraints of the Chinese authorities.

June 7. Sir G. B. Robinson recalled from home, and Capt. Elliot appointed chief of the commission in China. This order was received at Canton and carried into effect on the 14th of December following.

Nov. 28. A general chamber of commerce established at Canton.

Dec. 14. Capt. Elliot addressed a communication to the governor, requesting to be allowed to reside at Canton.

Dec. 22. The governor of Canton, without replying, sent a deputation to Macao to inquire into the truth of Capt. Elliot's statement, and the nature of his appointment, directing that he may be closely watched and not allowed to leave Macao.

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Dec. 28. The Hong merchants accompanying the deputation to Macao visited Capt. Elliot, who explained to them his situation, and returned a note to the governor expressing his satisfaction, and his willingness to remain at Macao, until he should receive further communications.

1837.

March 18. In pursuance of a communication from the emperor an edict was issued allowing Capt. Elliot to proceed to Canton.

April 1. Captain Elliot, in a dispatch to his government. states his embarrassment at the mode of communicating with him adopted by the Chinese authorities. He observed that all their communications are contained in notes to the Chinese merchants: "They are not addressed to me at all; they speak of me, not to me." He expresses a hope that so inconvenient a system may be modified.

April 8. Captain Elliot addressed a letter to the governor of Canton, informing him of the recovery from shipwreck of seventeen Chinese by an English vessel, acknowledging the acts of kindness received by English sailors from Chinese authorities on similar occasions, and hoping that peace and good-will may continue between the two nations.

April 19. The governor of Canton addressed the Hong merchants, desiring them to convey to Captain Elliot his directions to conform to a more respectful mode of writing; not to omit the words "Celestial Empire," nor to puff himself up with the idea that any "bonds of peace and good-will" can exist between the Great Emperor and the petty English nation. He also directed him, in case of sending any communications to the authorities, to submit them previously to the Hong merchants, that they may judge whether such communications be sufficiently respectful or not.

April 22. Letter addressed by Captain Elliot to the governor, notifying the impossibility of submitting his dispatches to the Hong merchants, and declining

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to receive in future any communications unless direct to himself.

April 25. The governor consents to receive sealed dispatches from Captain Elliot, but will not send replies direct to him. To this arrangement Captain Elliot signifies his assent.

June 1. Captain Elliot permitted to proceed to and from Canton in his own boat, on his promise to report the periods of his arrival and departure.

Aug. and *Sept.* Orders issued to the Hong merchants to direct Captain Elliot to send away all the opium ships from China; and to report the matter to his king, that he may prohibit such ships from sailing to China.

Sept. 25. Captain Elliot informed the governor that it is impossible for him to transmit to his king such indirect communications as he has been in the habit of receiving.

Sept. 29. Captain Elliot received the first direct communication from the prefect and chief military officer of the department; it contained a repetition of the requisitions of August and September.

Nov. 21. Dispatches received from the British government, directing the discontinuance, in communication with Chinese authorities, of the character *pin* (petition), expressive of inferiority in the writer, which had previously been employed on all letters sent by Captain Elliot. This gave rise to a discussion, which terminated in a cessation of communications.

During this year the opium trade underwent a great change: the smuggling, which had been confined to Canton, was now, by the vigorous proceedings of the provincial authorities, driven farther to the east, and above twenty sail were employed in the illegal traffic on the coast of Fokien. Collisions took place with the authorities, and it is believed that blood was spilled on several occasions.

1838.

Jan. 10. Three cases of opium seized on board the boat of a British resident at Canton.

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Feb. 25. A native Chinese condemned to death for participating in smuggling opium.

July 12. Admiral Maitland arrived at Macao in a ship of war, for the protection of British subjects.

July 28. The passage-boat Bombay, on her way up the river, fired at by the Chinese batteries, on suspicion of having Admiral Maitland on board.

July 29. Capt. Elliot addressed a note to the governor, requesting that an officer of equal rank with Admiral Maitland may be dispatched to communicate with that officer.

August 4. Admiral Maitland, in consequence of the insult offered him on the 28th, sailed up the river to the Bocca Tigris. Admiral Kwan immediately sent him a letter, requiring him to explain his intentions.

August 5. Sir F. Maitland replied by a demand for explanation, and requesting an interview, that he might state his purpose in coming to China.

Two officers arrived on board Sir F. Maitland's ship this day, and, in the presence of the officers of the ship and of Capt. Elliot, wrote a full disavowal of the insult offered on the 28th. Sir F. Maitland declared himself fully satisfied, and stated that, since the cessation of the Company's trade, frequent visits of vessels of war might be expected; but he assured the Chinese that they would always come with a peaceful purpose.

Oct. 4. After an exchange of civilities with Admiral Kwan, Admiral Maitland left Macao roads.

Dec. 3. A seizure of opium was made at Canton, falsely said to have been imported in the American ship Thomas Perkins. The trade immediately stopped by the Chinese authorities, and the consignee of the ship and buyers of the opium ordered to leave China.

Dec. 12. An attempt made to execute an opium smuggler in front of the foreign factories was resisted by the European inhabitants. The execution took place elsewhere, but a riot which ensued was quelled with great difficulty.

Dec. 18. Capt. Elliot published a notice requiring

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all British-owned vessels trading in opium to leave the Canton river within three days.

1839.

Jan. 1. Foreign trade re-opened.

Jan. 7. Native houses searched by policemen to discover opium. It is remarkable that the people would not allow the search to begin until they had first searched the policemen.

Feb. 26. A Chinese opium smuggler executed in front of the foreign factories; all the foreign flags immediately struck.

March 4. A remonstrance addressed by Capt. Elliot to the governor.

March 10. Commissioner Lin Tsih Sew arrived at Canton.

March 18. Commissioner Lin issued an edict commanding all opium in the ships to be given up.

March 19. Foreign residents forbidden to leave Canton.

March 21. All communication with the exterior cut off.

March 23. Capt. Elliot communicated with the commander of the British sloop Larne, and resolved to join his countrymen, now prisoners in Canton.

March 24. Capt. Elliot succeeded in reaching Canton, in spite of obstructions from the Chinese authorities. The factories were surrounded by armed men, native servants were removed, and provisions stopped.

March 25. The foreign merchants gave a pledge not to deal in opium again with any Chinese subject. Capt. Elliot demanded passports for himself and countrymen, which were refused, and the surrender of all the opium on board the ships was demanded of him.

March 26. Injunctions again issued that all the opium should be delivered up.

March 27. Capt. Elliot declared his readiness to deliver up the opium; and on the same day issued a notice to British subjects, enjoining them to surrender to him all the opium under their control, for the ser-

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vice of her Majesty's government; holding himself responsible to all and each of them, in the most full and unreserved manner, on the behalf of her Majesty's government.

April 3. Mr. Johnston allowed to proceed to the ships to direct the surrender of the opium. The remaining foreigners still continue in detention.

April 10. Commissioner Lin, with the governor, proceeded to the Bocca Tigris, to witness in person the delivery of the opium.

April 20. Half the opium delivered; but, notwithstanding agreements entered into with the authorities that passage-boats should be allowed to run as soon as this was done, the close detention of foreigners still continued.

May 4. An edict issued, permitting the running of passage-boats, and the re-opening of trade. Sixteen individuals were directed by this edict to be temporarily detained in Canton.

May 8. An edict issued, allowing the English superintendent, the American consul, and the Dutch consul, to return home with their people, and never to come again to China: all future dealings in opium to be punished with death.

May 21. The delivery of the opium completed this day: in the whole, 20,283 chests were given up.

May 24. Capt. Elliot, accompanied by the sixteen proscribed British merchants, left Canton for Macao. The sixteen gave bonds that they would never return to China. By the end of the month nearly all the foreign merchants had quitted Canton.

June 3. Preparations made for destroying all the opium. The operations for destroying it continued about twenty days, and were witnessed on the sixteenth by several English merchants, who had an interview with Commissioner Lin. A great impulse was given to the smuggling trade on the eastern coast by this affair. In many places the natives are said to have entered into a close organisation, which the government was afraid to oppose.

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June 31. Capt. Elliot published a manifesto, protesting against the conduct of the commissioner in promulgating placards inviting English merchants and others to disregard his injunctions, and in violating the engagements entered into with him.

July 7. A Chinese named Lin Weihi killed, in an affray with British and American seamen at Hong Kong.

August 12. A public criminal court was held at Hong Kong, for the trial of the English seamen suspected of the murder of Lin Weihi. They were acquitted of the murder; but five were found guilty of riot, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, with hard labour.

August 15. The Chinese authorities issued an order to interdict the supply of food of any kind to the British in China, in consequence of the murder of Lin Weihi.

August 23. Capt. Elliot left Macao for Hong Kong, being unwilling to commit the Portuguese government there in the misunderstanding with the Chinese.

August 24. The British boat 'Black Joke' attacked by the Chinese; the crew, consisting of lascars, all but one barbarously murdered; a passenger on board severely wounded, and his ear cut off, with a portion of the scalp, which the murderers forced into his mouth.

August 26. All the British residents left Macao.

August 31. Proclamation to the natives, calling upon them to arm and resist the English.

Sept. 4. A skirmish at Kow-lung between three English boats on one side, and three junks and a fort on the other, arising from the denial of provisions to the English.

Sept. 11. A notice given of an intention to blockade the Canton river. Withdrawn on the 16th.

Sept. 12. The Spanish ship 'Bilbaino' burned by order of Lin, who thought it was a British vessel.

Nov. 3. An attack made by twenty-nine armed

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junks, under Admiral Kwan, upon two British frigates, the 'Volage' and 'Hyacinth:' the Chinese beaten off with great loss: one junk blown up, several sunk.

Nov. 26. An edict published, ordering the cessation of trade with British ships after the 6th of December.

Dec. 6. The last servant of the East India Company left China.

1840.

Jan. 5. An imperial edict issued, directing all trade with England to cease for ever.

Feb. 2. Commissioner Lin sends a letter to the Queen of Great Britain, by the ship 'Thomas Coutts,' remonstrating against the sending of opium to China. A great number of copies were printed, and distributed among the Chinese population.

Feb. 6. Lin appointed governor of the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si.

May 22. The British ship 'Hellas' attacked by eight junks and three large boats; all the crew wounded, the master severely.

June 9. Attempt made to burn the British fleet by means of fire-rafts.

June 22. British forces having gradually arrived, amounting to fifteen men-of-war, four steamers, and 4000 soldiers, Sir Gordon Bremer, who had arrived on the 21st in the 'Wellesley,' published a notice of the blockade of Canton.

June 30. British fleet proceeded northward on the east coast of China.

July 2. The ship 'Blonde' visited Amoy. Her boat, with a flag of truce, fired on.

July 5. The city of Ting-hai, in Chusan, surrendered to the squadron. Ninety-one guns taken.

July 10. A blockade established from Ningpo to the mouth of the Keang. A document without date was very extensively circulated during this month, offering a regular scale of rewards to any person who would take or destroy the ships of the English; also for the capture or death of Englishmen, whether sol-

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diers or merchants, and of coloured men employed by them.

August 6. Mr. Stanton seized by kidnappers and carried to Canton.

August 11. A steamer, with Capt. Elliot on board, entered the Pei-ho, a river flowing near Peking.

August 19. H.M. ships 'Hyacinth' and 'Larne' attack Chinese force at the Macao barrier, destroying guns and killing about sixty soldiers.

August 30. Conference on shore below the town of Tientsing, on the Pei-ho, between Capt. Elliot and Keshen, the Chinese minister.

Sept. 15. The 'Kite,' Capt. Noble, lost on a quicksand. The captain's wife and a number of the crew confined in cages.

Sept. 16. Seizure of Capt. Anstruther.

Sept. 16. Keshen appointed imperial commissioner.

Sept. 27. Edict received from Peking, depriving Commissioner Lin of his office, and degrading him.

Oct. 4. British squadron visit the Great Wall of China.

Nov. 6. A truce announced by Admiral Elliot.

Nov. 15. The plenipotentiaries sail from Chusan towards Canton, to meet Keshen there.

Nov. 20. The plenipotentiaries arrive off Macao.

Nov. 21. The 'Queen' steamer fired upon at Chuenpe. An apology offered for the insult.

Nov. 29. The resignation of Admiral Elliot announced.

Dec. 12. Mr. Stanton released.

1841.

Jan. 6. In the midst of the negotiations an edict was issued that all Englishmen and ships should be destroyed wherever they should be met with near China. In consequence of this violation of the existing truce,

Jan. 7. Chuen-pe and Tae-cok-tow were attacked and captured, with the loss of 173 guns to the Chinese; on preparations being made for attacking the forts at the

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Bocca Tigris, Admiral Kwan solicits another armistice, which is granted by Captain Elliot.

Jan. 20. A circular was issued by Elliot, stating that a treaty had been agreed to by Keshen, according to which Hong Kong should be ceded to England, 6,000.000 dollars paid, and the trade opened within ten days; and that there should be direct official communication between the two nations, on equal terms.

Jan. 26. Formal possession taken of Hong Kong.

Feb. 11. An imperial edict received from Peking by Keshen, in disapproval and rejection of the conditions agreed to by him.

Feb. 23. Hostilities resumed against China.

Feb. 24. Chusan evacuated.

Feb. 25. Rewards offered by the Canton authorities for the bodies of Englishmen, dead or alive: 50,000 dollars to be paid for ringleaders.

Feb. 26. The Bogue forts taken by Sir Gordon Bremer. Admiral Kwan killed, and 459 guns captured.

March 1. The squadron proceeded up the river of Canton.

March 2. Sir Hugh Gough takes the command of the British land forces.

March 3. The prefect of Canton visited Captain Elliot under a flag of truce; suspension of hostilities.

March 6. Hostilities resumed. Napier's fort occupied, and a proclamation issued to the people of Canton, offering to spare the city on condition of the population remaining quiet.

March 12. Keshen, degraded and deprived of his office by the imperial government, left Canton a prisoner.

March 18. The Chinese having fired upon a flag of truce, the British forces destroyed a flotilla of boats, threatened the city of Canton, and took possession of the foreign factories, with the loss of 461 guns to the enemy.

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March 20. A suspension of hostilities agreed to.

April 14. New commissioners from Peking arrived at Canton.

May 1. The first number of the 'Hong Kong Gazette' published.

May 8. A Chinese in Canton publicly punished for daring to speak of foreign affairs.

May 17. Captain Elliot, for the third time, prepared to attack Canton.

May 21. Chinese attacked the British ships with great guns and fire-rafts.

May 24. The British forces commenced operations against Canton.

May 25. Heights behind Canton occupied by British troops, with the capture of about ninety guns.

May 27. The authorities agreed to pay 6,000,000 dollars for the ransom of the city, in consequence of which a cessation of hostilities was granted.

May 31. Five millions paid, and security given for the remainder; British forces withdrew from Canton.

July 16. British trade with Canton re-opened.

Aug. 10. Arrival in the Macao roads of Sir Henry Pottinger, as sole plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty; Captain Elliot superseded.

Aug. 12. Sir Henry Pottinger issued a proclamation stating the objects of his mission.

Aug. 27. The town of Amoy captured by the British forces, and 296 guns destroyed.

Sept. Several small engagements this month; all the Bogue forts destroyed.

Oct. 1. The city of Ting-hae re-taken, with 136 guns, and the island of Chusan re-occupied.

Oct. 10. Chin-hae taken after a brave defence, with 157 guns, many of brass.

Oct. 13. Ning-po taken without resistance.

Nov. 15. An imperial edict issued, urging the extermination of the English.

Dec. 28. Yu-Yaou, Tsze-kee, and Foong-hua carried by the British.

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1842.

March 10. From 10,000 to 12,000 Chinese troops attacked Ning-po and Chin-hae, and were repulsed with great slaughter, leaving about 600 killed.

March 15. An encampment of about 8000 Chinese, near Tsze-kee, routed with great loss.

May 17. Ning-po evacuated by the British forces.

May 18. City of Cha-pu attacked and its defences destroyed, with forty-five guns.

June 13. The squadron entered the great river Keang.

June 16. Capture of Woosung, with 230 guns.

June 19. The town of Shang-hae taken.

July 5. A proclamation in the Chinese language issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, explanatory of the complaints and demands of Great Britain.

July 6. The British fleet advanced up the river, the interim having been occupied in sounding and surveying.

July 18. Communication with the Grand Canal cut off, and all its openings into the river closed. The whole armament anchored near the "Golden Isle" on the 20th.

July 21. City of Chin-keang taken after a gallant defence; the Tartar general and many of the garrison committed suicide.

August 4. The advanced ships reached Nanking.

August 9. The whole fleet being arrived, the disembarkation of the troops began this day.

August 12. Ke-ying arrived at Nanking with full powers to treat of peace: this was the first overt act indicative of a real desire to treat, on the part of the Chinese; sundry offers had been made for some months, but, as the parties were never prepared to act upon their proposals, the object seemed to be rather that of delaying the expedition than of negotiating a treaty. The wish was now real, and several

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meetings were held by officers of the two powers, in which preliminaries were arranged. A genuine statement of facts was sent to the emperor, the demands of the British made known to him, and permission granted to the commissioners to conclude a treaty in accordance with them.

August 20. The first interview between the plenipotentiaries on board the Cornwallis;' a visit of ceremony only.

August 24. The visit returned on shore by Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir William Parker.

August 26. The high plenipotentiaries held a meeting on shore for the purpose of consulting on the terms of the treaty.

August 29. Treaty of peace signed before Nanking, on board the 'Cornwallis,' by Sir Henry Pottinger on the part of Great Britain, and by Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Neu-Kien on the part of the Emperor of China. The most important provisions of the treaty, as stated by Sir Henry Pottinger, are as follows:—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shang-hae to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and

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seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first 6,000,000 dollars, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhae to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ku-lang-su are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

Sept. 8. The emperor signifies his assent to the conditions of the treaty.

Dec. 31. The Great Seal of England affixed to the treaty.

1843.

July 22. A proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger that the ratifications of the treaty of Nanking have been exchanged under the signs manual and seals of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of China; and that a commercial treaty has been concluded: the trade according to the new system to commence at Canton on the 27th July; the four remaining ports to be opened so soon as the imperial edict to that effect shall be received.

This edict has since been issued, the ports have been opened, and consuls appointed.

THE END.

London: Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford-street.

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THE CHINESE:

A

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

CHINA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.,

GOVERNOR OF HONG-KONG.

A NEW EDITION, ENLARGED AND REVISED.

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME.

LONDON:

CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1845.

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NOTICE.

THE extensive diffusion in this Series of Mr. Davis's important work 'The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants,' as well as the great and increasing interest of every thing relating to China, has induced the Publishers to issue as a SUPPLEMENT to Mr. Davis's larger work, his 'SKETCHES OF CHINA,' which were published in 1841. The original edition contained several chapters of 'Notices and Observations relative to the present War.' These indicated the extensive knowledge and political sagacity of the author; but, fortunately, they have ceased to be a necessary portion of the book, and are omitted in this edition. Our intercourse with China is now essentially peaceful; and there is every hope that a long-continued friendship, founded upon mutual benefit, may have the most important influences upon the commerce of our own country, and through the civilizing operation of the great principle of exchange may spread the light of truth amongst the many millions of the vast and wonderful empire that has opened its ports to a free and equal traffic.

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SKETCHES OF CHINA;

PARTLY DURING AN INLAND JOURNEY OF FOUR MONTHS,

BETWEEN

PEKING, NANKING, AND CANTON.

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.

GOVERNOR OF HONG-KONG.

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THE CHINESE.

SKETCHES.

CHAPTER I.

In a new work on *Political Philosophy*, attributed generally to a personage of high literary and social rank,* there is a rapid view of the Chinese institutions, in a chapter exclusively devoted to that subject. This chapter commences by a brief and striking summary of the marvels and apparent inconsistencies which China presents to the eye of the commonest observer, as well as to the keener inspection of the political reasoner. "A territory of enormous extent, stretching fourteen hundred miles from east to west, and as many from north to south, peopled by above three hundred millions of persons, all living under one sovereign—preserving their customs for a period far beyond the beginning of authentic history elsewhere—civilized when Europe was sunk in barbarism—possessed many centuries before ourselves of the arts which we deem the principal triumphs of civilization, and even yet not equalled by the industry and enterprise of the West in the prodigious extent of their public works—with a huge wall of fifteen hundred miles in length, built two thousand years ago, and a canal of seven hundred, four centuries before any canal had ever been known in Europe,—the sight of such a country and such a nation is mightily calculated to fix the attention of the most careless observer, and to warm the fancy of the most indifferent.

* The work has since been published with the name of Lord Brougham as its author.

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"But there are yet more strange things unfolded in the same quarter to the eye of the political philosopher. All this vast empire under a single head, its countless myriads of people yielding an obedience so regular and so mechanical that the government is exercised as if the control were over animals, or masses of inert matter; the military force at the ruler's disposal so insignificant that the mere physical pressure of the crowd must instantly destroy it were the least resistance attempted; the people all this while not only not plunged in rude ignorance, but actually more generally possessed of knowledge to a certain extent, and more highly prizing it than any other nation in the world; the institutions of the country established for much above five-and-twenty centuries, and never changing or varying (in principle at least) during that vast period of time; the inhabitants, with all their refinement and their early progress in knowledge and in the arts, never passing a certain low point; so that they exhibit the only instance in the history of our species of improvement being permanently arrested in its progress; the resources of this civilized state incalculable, yet not able to prevent two complete conquests by a horde of barbarians, or to chastise the piracies of a neighbouring island,* or to subdue a petty tribe,† existing, troublesome and independent, in the centre of a monarchy which seems as if it could crush them by a single movement of its body; the police of the state all powerful in certain directions, and in others so weak as to habitually give way for fear of being defeated; the policy of the state an unexampled mixture of wisdom and folly—profound views and superficial errors—patronage of art and of science, combined with prohibition of foreign improvements—encouragement of domestic industry, with exclusion of external commerce—promotion of inland manufactures and trade, without employing the precious metals as a

* Japan. † Meaou-tse.

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medium of exchange—suffering perpetually from the population encroaching upon the means of subsistence, and yet systematically stimulating the increase of its numbers, removing every check which might mitigate the evil, and closing every outlet for the redundancy."

These things are certainly calculated to puzzle us of the West; but fully proportionate to the interest of the subject has been the difficulty, to Europeans, of obtaining that full and accurate information which alone can afford data for our reasonings, or a clue to the explanation of the several anomalies above stated. Our two most effectual means of inquiry have been a knowledge of the language, and the openings afforded by the royal missions to Peking. It was the good fortune of the writer of this to be officially attached to an embassy from the court of London to the Emperor of China, or *Great Cham of Tartary*, as the older books have it. This was an event (seeing that such English visits to Peking have been of the rarest occurrence) worthy to form an era in any man's life, but to himself it derived an additional value from peculiar circumstances. At the early age of eighteen he had devoted himself to the investigation of all that could by any possibility be learned of that real "terra incognita" to which the mission in question was destined; and about two years' close attention to the subject (including the language especially) was followed by the altogether unsolicited boon—sufficiently prized by the favoured few to whose lot it fell—of proceeding in person, under the high auspices and introduction of a public embassy, to read the sealed book.

The squadron of two ships, two surveying-vessels, and a brig-of-war, came to an anchor on the evening of the 10th July off *Hong-kong*,* an island about thirty-five miles due east of Macao, and lately celebrated as the rendezvous of our large fleet of merchant

* The name *Hong-kong* is a provincial corruption of *Hoong-kaang*, "the red torrent," from the colour of the soil through which the stream flows previous to its fall over the cliff.

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vessels, during the suspension of trade arising out of the outrageous exploits of Commissioner Lin at Canton. A fine torrent of water, falling in a cascade from a considerable cliff, and then flowing across the beach strewn with rocks into the sea, offers great advantages to ships in watering, and we accordingly took occasion to "fill up" at this place. The short delay caused by this indispensable operation gave occasion to several visits to the land, being to most of those on board the squadron their first introduction to the celestial regions. The two gentlemen who acted in the several capacities of naturalist and artist to the mission went on shore, the one with his scientific apparatus, the other with his pencils and sketch-book. The first pronounced the rocks to be partly of trap or volcanic origin (the only specimen discovered on that part of the coast); the last attempted to seize with his pencil the various groups of the natives, as these crowded round him in all the eagerness of insatiable curiosity. This however was no easy task, for as each saw the eye of the limner fixed earnestly upon himself, he suddenly wheeled round to the rear to look over the artist's shoulder and observe progress; and as our excellent draughtsman was not the most patient of his profession, the effect became rather ridiculous. The sight of Europeans was to these people, mostly fishermen, a novel one, for until then the spot had been seldom visited, and to such of the embassy as were accustomed to the impertinence of the Canton people their behaviour appeared very quiet and civil. We had occasion, during our stay at the anchorage, to remark their singular mode of fishing. They create a horrible din by their gongs and shouting, and beat in the most frantic manner the surface of the calm water with oars and large sticks. By this process they appear to bewilder and stun the fish, and to drive them into their nets in considerable numbers. We observed, at least, that great success attended their labours. Indeed, any person, who has verified by experiment the extraordinary power of conveying

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sound exhibited by water, need not be surprised at the efficacy of this plan of frightening out of their wits the finny tribes, who would seem to possess the faculty of hearing in a very sensible degree.

Before we left our anchorage at *Hong-Kong*, it was satisfactory to receive from Macao the favourable intelligence that the emperor, on hearing of the approach of the British embassy, had appointed three mandarins of high rank to meet it at Tientsin, expressing at the same time his gratification at the compliment. The original document was worded in the inflated and absurd style common to these productions; but the main fact remained the same—the mission was received, and allowed to enter the empire at the point fixed upon by those who sent it.

On the 14th of July we passed a conspicuous rock near the coast of the Canton province, called in Portuguese *Pedra branca*, or the "White Stone," which serves as a useful mark to ships making the coast from the eastward. The whole sea-line of the province has been very accurately laid down, for the purposes of navigation, almost entirely at the expense of the East India Company, whose munificent contributions to the science of hydrography in the Eastern and China seas are not always known or appreciated by those who profit by them. To the north of that province, however, the coast has been so little frequented that our knowledge of it is but scanty; and the consequent risk incurred by any large ship which proceeds to the mouth of the *Peiho* (North river), in the neighbourhood of Peking, renders the greatest care necessary.

As the squadron sailed along with a fine favourable breeze, the beauty of the weather and the stirring scenes in anticipation naturally contributed to put everybody on board in high spirits. In the midst of our gaiety, however, one of those fatal accidents which occasionally happen in large ships from the perilous nature of the duty, threw a sudden damp on the general cheerfulness. After dusk in the evening,

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chanced to be mounting the poop ladder, when the fall of something heavy on the starboard hammock-nettings suddenly startled me; though I was unable to tell what it was, as the object bounded with great force from the ship's side and fell at once overboard. My first impression, from the sound, led me to conclude that it must be a large block from the rigging, and to congratulate myself on my narrow escape, as it fell only a few feet from me,—but the speedy cry of "some one overboard" announced at once the fatal truth. The ship was brought to, and a boat lowered with all possible speed; though all in vain, for the poor lad, a young midshipman, was never again seen. It may easily be imagined that when a large ship is going through the water at the rate of nine or ten knots an hour, the acquired velocity of such a huge moving mass must urge it to the distance even of miles, before its motion can be checked by taking in sail, and "bringing the ship's head round." Then, again, this requisite manœuvre of altering the ship's bearings bewilders most of those on board, who naturally look out from the stern of the vessel, while the real place of the unfortunate object of their search may, by this time, be on the larboard or starboard side, or perhaps even a-head. In addition to all this, as the head alone is visible of a person immersed in the water, this presents so small an object for vision, at even a trifling distance, as to add greatly to the difficulty of discovery on these distressing occasions. Ingenuity has therefore contrived a life-buoy, to be kept fastened at the sterns of large vessels, and cast off in an instant when required on any emergency of the foregoing kind. The very act of letting it go strikes a light which guides both the sufferer and those on board during the night; and should the accident happen by day, the life-buoy displays a small flag.

In three days the squadron was off the coast of Fokien, a maritime province, in the northern part of which is grown the best of the large black-leafed tea, called

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by us in England bohea, and by the Chinese *Ta cha*' or "large tea," because it is allowed to remain on the tree until the leaves have attained full maturity and size. Being the most bulky, and the least laboured in the manufacture, while at the same time the late period of gathering does but little injury to the health of the plant, bohea is for all these reasons combined the cheapest kind of tea. We cast a wistful eye from our ships at the Chinese coast, a few miles off, and with the help of a glass could discover a few scattered villages, apparently fishermen's houses. The shore was generally low, with barren hills a little way inland.

On our right lay the great island of Formosa, of which the coast facing the main-land of *Fokien* pertains to China, and is included in the government of that province. A chain of mountains divides the island longitudinally, and separates the Chinese colony from the aborigines on the east. Formosa was the last portion of the present Chinese empire that submitted to the Manchow Tartars; its separation by the sea having rendered it for years defencible against the fleets that were sent to subdue it. Placed opposite to the most opulent and commercial maritime provinces, at a distance of little more than twenty leagues, Formosa offers a tempting position to any European power disposed to try the occupation of it, as a means of pushing its trade with the empire. The Dutch, indeed, had a settlement and forts on the south-west coast previous to the Manchow Tartar conquest; but the multitudes of Chinese who sought shelter there from the Tartar dominion, soon led to its almost entire colonization by that people. The commander of a large squadron of junks, by name Koshinga, who had long defied the Manchows, entered into a correspondence with his countrymen on shore, and preparations were at length made for attacking Fort Zealand, and driving out the Dutch, in order to obtain the dominion of the island. After a gallant defence by the garrison, the superior numbers and arts of the Chinese succeeded in expelling the

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Hollanders, and making Koshinga independent sovereign of the island, in 1662. The English entered into a commercial treaty with this "King of Taywan," as the old records call him. They were even more hardly treated than at Canton, being obliged to deliver up their guns and ammunition before they were permitted to trade; and the vexations experienced here at length led to the abandonment of all intercourse. Formosa continued independent for about twenty years, until it was surrendered by the grandson of Koshinga to the Tartar-Chinese Emperor.

The great size of this island, which measures at least 200 miles in length, is the chief objection to its occupation, besides the want of good harbours. As it is known to supply a considerable quantity of rice for the consumption of the empire, the interception of this might be found an object in the prosecution of hostilities by sea. But the policy of the Chinese in the construction of their grand canal, and the confinement of the trade in grain to inland navigation almost exclusively, renders them singularly exempt from this species of annoyance, which could only be effectually exercised by blockading the southern part of the canal, where it crosses the great river Keang, near its mouth. With the same jealous regard for another chief article of consumption, the transport of *tea* by sea-vessels coastwise has long been prohibited; a circumstance which militates against the chance of a smuggling trade in tea to any extent. The small bulk of opium, in proportion to its cost, is one of the principal causes which has rendered the "black commodity"—or, to use another of their slang terms, the "foreign smoke"—the only article of trade on the coasts to the eastward of Canton. This circumstance of small bulk as an ingredient in smuggling must not be lost sight of, even when we take into full account the unconquerable passion for opium, which leads the people to use it until the emaciation consequent thereon makes them resemble "a paddy-bird in figure and a pigeon in the face,"—to use their own expression.

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On getting clear of the Strait of Formosa, our squadron steered north by east, with the wind right aft, and on the morning of the 19th we found ourselves abreast of Chusan,* a large island about fifty miles to the eastward of Ningpo, the former seat of European trade, from which the jealousy of the present Tartar rulers of China banished it to Canton, the point most distant from Peking. In the delightful climate which prevails in this vicinity of the sea-coast, from the 30th to the 32nd degree of latitude, are centred a large portion of the riches and pleasures of the Chinese Empire. They have a common saying, "Shâng yew T'hien-thang — Hea yew Soo-Hâng."—"Above is Paradise (heaven's hall); below are Soochow and Hangchow."

The two cities here named, being seated in the midst of the beautiful tea and silk districts, and about the confluence of the grand canal with the two great rivers of the empire, at the same time that the neighbourhood of the sea gives them the advantages of maritime commerce, combine within themselves every source of wealth and prosperity, as well as pleasure. The numerous junks which we saw in the neighbourhood of the coast bore evidence to the extensive trade carried on from these cities with Japan, Loochoo, and other places to the eastward, as well as with the maritime provinces of the empire.

Amidst the dry official details of the famous "Blue Book," printed for the two Houses of Parliament, during the session for 1840, an agreeable episode occurs in the history of a voyage to Loochoo and Japan in 1837, performed by Mr. Gutzlaff in H. M. ship Raleigh, Captain Quin, accompanied by the ship Morrison. As the course of our narrative has brought us into the neighbourhood of these rarely-visited countries, it may be as well to give an outline of the atest news concerning them.

* The excellent harbours of this island and its neighbourhood render it a very advantageous station for a naval squadron.

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When Mr. Gutzlaff and his companions landed at Loochoo, they were received by the chiefs with evident reluctance; but having succeeded in allaying their fears, the visitors proceeded to the city *Napaheang*. It took them about an hour to walk at a rapid pace through the whole length of the town. All the houses were surrounded by a stone wall, which also encloses a garden, and the dwellings were mostly built of wood, one story high, with a small verandah in the Japanese style in front. It is strange that the party did not perceive a single shop or any articles offered for sale; but this surely must have been incidental to their visit, and the result of an order from the chiefs. A very wretched aspect was presented by the population, if we are to believe this account, and one altogether at variance with the description of Captain Hall, who must have viewed the people in their holiday dress. There were multitudes of beggars in the most squalid condition. But greater surprise was excited by the miserable look of the women, who are described as "raw-boned, and the very picture of ugliness, with only a scanty covering, and this almost in tatters." A whole row of these came down from the hills, carrying burdens, in company with some ponies, with whom they seemed to rank on a par. The few acres the visitors passed in their ramble were cultivated with potatoes, pulse, and grains; but the peasantry seemed a hard-working, ill-requited race. The fishermen are peculiarly hardy and adventurous. They go, in their canoes hollowed out of a single tree, to a great distance from the land, taking only a bucket of water and some potatoes for their subsistence; and upon this they maintain themselves for days together, until they have got a load of fish. They were seen with harpoons in pursuit of sharks and other large fish, able with a blow of their tails to upset the little boats.

The Loochooans, it seems, do not improve upon a nearer inspection. Nearly two hundred years ago the prince of the Japanese principality Satzuma (the

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southernmost, and next to Loochoo) took forcible possession of these islands, and the government accordingly approaches to a Japanese despotism, the most truculent on earth. Both China and Japan claim supremacy over Loochoo, but the former is satisfied with an annual embassy, while the latter levies a substantial tribute. Fifteen junks annually trade with Satzuma in Japan, while two are sent to the capital city of Fokien in China. Living, as those poor Loochooans do, between the two most jealous nations in the world, and in the power of either, we cannot be surprised at the consternation which they feel on every European visit. Mr. Gutzlaff gives a formidable account of the warlike resources of Loochoo: "At the fort on the entrance they had stationed *seven soldiers with clubs*, in order to give something like a military appearance to their harbour." For the provisions furnished to the Raleigh the people would on no account receive compensation, for fear of the accusation of trading with foreigners; they declared that they should lose their heads in consequence.

Mr. Gutzlaff had charge of seven shipwrecked Japanese, whom he was to restore, if possible, to their country. This country, which for two centuries is said to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity, was then in a state of rebellion. A dreadful gale, in the previous month of August, which was said to have lasted for ten days, had destroyed the crops—being something like a Chinese typhoon, or worse, from its duration. The consequence was a severe dearth and famine, which at length led the starving people of Osaka, the principal emporium, to rise upon the corn merchants and either rob or destroy their stores. The government, in order to quell the insurrection, attacked the insurgents, and the whole city became a prey to the flames. In the capital, Yedo itself, the inhabitants had risen against the government, and the contest had not yet been decided. These circumstances, probably, aggravated the ill reception, or

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rather the no reception at all, which the ship Morrison met with.

They wondered to see so few junks cruising about on their approach to the bay of Yedo. The crew of one which passed near them showed no symptoms of fear, and they found that the people beyond the reach of their rulers were friendly to strangers. But the government obliges them to build their vessels so slenderly of fir as to be scarcely seaworthy; with a view, it is said, to prevent their visiting foreign countries. The weather was rainy when the ship worked into the bay; yet the mandarins seemed aware of their approach, and commenced a fire from several forts. When a shot fell about half a mile from them the captain of the Morrison judged it prudent to come to an anchor. They had addressed a letter to the government, stating that they brought seven shipwrecked natives back to their homes. A crowd of natives presently came upon deck, some of them absolutely naked, others with a kind of shirt, but none of them with trousers. Their heads were shaven in front, while the hair of the hinder part was tied up in a knot. A large boat was soon observed pulling towards them from the fort, with a "well-dressed" person on board. This gentleman, it may be presumed, had that particular article of dress which the others wanted. He politely refused an invitation on board, and having rowed round the ship (no doubt for the purpose of reconnoitring the guns, which however had all been left behind), he returned to the shore. Among the motley group that crowded the deck it was soon surmised that some were spies, from their particular inquiries concerning the guns; and it appeared, early in the morning, that in expecting permission to land they had reckoned without their host, for as soon as the day dawned the forts (having received the satisfactory intelligence that the ship was unarmed) began to fire, the shot falling in all directions, some passing through the rigging, others pitching astern, and one striking the deck through

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the port. It was now time for the defenceless ship to get under weigh, but the fort continued to fire while she was within reach. Being only twenty miles from the capital, the orders for their expulsion must have come direct from the court. Some officer had on former occasions always visited every ship, so that this increased vigilance and hostility was something new; perhaps the result of fears occasioned by the late rebellion, or of acts committed by the European whalers on the coast. The seven Japanese prudently declined going ashore under these circumstances, and the vessel therefore steered for Kagosima, the capital of Satzuma. On entering the bay two of the Japanese were despatched to the next military station. The mandarins seemed touched by the history of their shipwreck and preservation, and promised every assistance. Boat-loads of water were sent off to the ship, and a statement of circumstances forwarded to the prince of Satzuma. Being requested to anchor opposite to a particular village, the captain of the Morrison proceeded thither under the guidance of a native pilot; but after waiting three days they were desired to sail away, and permission was refused for the seven Japanese to land. The ominous striped cloth was lowered, and the forts began to fire on the ship. In beating out of the bay they were fired upon from six projecting points of land during a space of twelve hours, but the shot all fell short, and no harm was done. The Japanese natives, on whose account the voyage had been principally undertaken, went back to Macao in the ship; a striking example of the unrelenting character of their government.

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CHAPTER II.

On the morning of the 25th of July we found ourselves close to some land, which, from the latitude by account (in the absence of observations), was concluded to be a part of the Shantong promontory. The wind being very light, Captain Basil Hall was commissioned by the ambassador to proceed in the brig, accompanied by one of the suite, to the mouth of the Peking river, in order to announce the approach of the mission. On the 27th we passed the Miataou islands, and on the 28th came to an anchor as nearly as we could safely approach to the entrance of the Peiho, or "North river," which has often been erroneously termed the "White river."

We were in only five fathoms water, but still out of sight of land, which lay fully ten miles off. In fact the whole gulf of Peking (or the Yellow sea) is one vast shoal, and there seem to be many reasons for supposing that the Yellow river, which now reaches the sea to the south of the Shantong promontory, at one time flowed into the gulf on the north side. Its enormous depositions of mud are now and have been long creating extensive shoals near its mouth, so as to impede the exit of the vast body of waters; and this circumstance, joined to the nature of the flat country through which the Yellow river flows, explains the perpetual and devastating inundations which led the Emperor Keaking to call it "China's Sorrow." But we shall have to cross this celebrated stream hereafter.

The brig lay in sight of our anchorage, and of course much nearer the land, as her small size enabled her to ride in only three fathoms water. Still no com-

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munication took place with the shore, and a signal of recall was made to the Lyra, which a dead calm with an adverse tide prevented her from immediately obeying. Towards night on the 29th, however, a breeze sprung up, and the brig soon arrived with the intelligence that two inferior mandarins had been on board, and received the ambassador's letter to the viceroy, which was to be forwarded without delay. An answer was to be expected in two days, and it was added that the viceroy himself might be here in about that time. The fact seemed to be, that though the news of the embassy's approach must have long since reached Peking, the people on this coast were not informed of it, and therefore altogether unprepared. Our passage from the neighbourhood of Canton had been so rapid as greatly to anticipate the expectations of the Chinese, whose junks, with their bluff and almost square bows, make but tedious passages compared with European sailing vessels.

During the period which a succession of stormy weather, combined with other circumstances, compelled us to spend at this tedious anchorage, our principal amusement was to watch the great numbers of junks and boats which frequent the seaport of the capital of China. They at first exhibited a considerable shyness, alarmed perhaps by the novel appearance of our ships; but, when better acquainted with the nature of the visit, this gradually wore off, and many of them approached near enough for a close inspection. The sails were of mat, as at Canton, but of a stiffer description, and instead of falling down when lowered as canvas might do, they were constructed in the manner of a folding screen or fan.

At length a small junk with flags and streamers was seen approaching the frigate, and having come alongside, a party of mandarins with their numerous squad of followers mounted the accommodation ladder. These officers were of a very inferior rank, and of the military order, the highest having only a crystal button. They appeared much surprised at what they

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saw around them, and their followers were in all parts of the ship. They announced that the viceroy of Pechely had been recalled, and another appointed in his place; a circumstance which would occasion delay in our landing. His Excellency's letter had been forwarded to the viceroy elect at Peking. Three mandarins of rank, however, were already at hand to receive us. The first, Kwong Tajin,* the commissioner of salt duties, bore the emperor's special mandate to conduct the embassy, and was therefore styled by us the legate, and by the Chinese *Kinchae*. The two others were Chang and Yin Tajin, a civil and military mandarin, decorated with a blue and red button respectively. The legate himself bore only a crystal button; so that their commissions were in the inverse order of the buttons on their caps; proving (what I had often before remarked) that the ball or button is nothing more than a *decoration*, conferred even upon Hong merchants in consideration of large sums of money, and that it has little to do with real authority and station.

The mandarins on board being shown a print of the late Emperor *Kien-loong*, at the beginning of Staunton's Embassy, immediately displayed the greatest embarrassment. They rose from their seats, and scarcely knowing what they should do, begged me to put it aside, or it would be necessary for them to perform the prostration before it. Such is the veneration which the Chinese habitually attach to their sovereign. He is, in fact, the chief deity of their idolatry, and it would be the highest and most criminal act of disrespect in the greatest of his subjects to possess a portrait or visible representation of the "Son of Heaven."

Being military mandarins, our visitors seemed much pleased with the brilliant and orderly arrangement of the small-arms between decks, and one of them said that he remembered the like things in the former

* The affix of *Tajin* means a grandee.

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embassy. The dress and appearance of these men were of a rather shabby order, and they seemed to be sufficiently ignorant of matters relating even to their own country. On observing any costly or ingenious object of art, they immediately asked if it was not made at *Canton*. Being shown a specimen of English china, they seemed surprised and almost incredulous; still more so when they were assured that there were much finer specimens of the same production in England. On leaving us, the mandarins went ashore with Dr. Morrison and one of the officers of the guard; the object of the two gentlemen's visit to land being to make inquiries as to the embassy's debarkation. We afterwards discovered that the rank and station of these mandarin gentry by no means warranted the attentions with which they had been received and treated.

Dr. Morrison returned on the following day, and said that he had an audience of the legate, but could not speak much for the politeness of his reception. Three other mandarins sat to the Kinchae's left (the place of honour), while Dr. Morrison and his companion were placed to the right at some distance. The Chinese commissioner was however civil enough in his language. He made no arrangement as to the embassy coming ashore, for they seemed as yet hardly prepared for it; but said that *Chang* and *Yin Tajin* who were sitting with him, would visit the ambassador on board. Some little objection seemed to exist as to the large number constituting the embassy, and including a guard and band of about forty men; though this was at length acquiesced in, when Dr. Morrison urged the comparative insignificance of such a point to the great emperor. After the audience our gentlemen were conveyed to dinner, with the inferior mandarins who had been on board, and this might be regarded as the consequence of the undue reception which had been accorded to the four very scrubby individuals sent off as messengers to the frigate, and who subsequently became mere attend-

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ants on the ambassador's and commissioners' boats. The night's lodging was in a temple (or what in Canton English is called a joshouse) named *Hae-shin-miao*, the "temple of the sea-god." Here they found an old European print representing Jesus Christ, with a Chinese inscription. The priest did not seem to understand very well what the engraving was, but said that the Emperor Kang-hy (who favoured the Christians) had given the print to the temple, and it was therefore considered as consecrated. He asked, at the same time, if there were votaries of *Budha* in England, and if the inhabitants of our country were likely to be converted by his going and teaching them! Dr. Morrison and Lieutenant Cooke were conducted from their boat, and back to it, in the wretched carts of the country, of which we shall have to say more presently. When the gentlemen returned on board, some provisions were offered, but they declined waiting for the same.

On the 2nd of August a strong breeze set in, which increased to a gale on the 3rd, and as the anchorage did not afford very good holding-ground, the ships were obliged to moor with a great length of cable. No boats came off from the land, but the morning of the 4th, being fine, we saw junks decorated with flags and streamers on their way out towards the squadron. Presently arrived the inferior officers, our former visitors, bearing enormous cards of compliment, folded like a screen, and when drawn out exhibiting some yards of paper of a fine crimson colour. On occasions of mourning the crimson is exchanged for white, and they accordingly consider our white visiting cards as peculiarly *unlucky*, or ill-omened.

Preparations were made on board the frigate to give the grandees a fitting reception. The marines were under arms on the quarter-deck, and lest the tender nerves of our Chinese visitors should be needlessly shaken, a salute was fired *before* they came on board; the usual form being to fire *after* the parties

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have reached the ship. They walked between the two ranks of men with a look of involuntary surprise, which was increased when the marines presented arms. The mandarins were received by the captain in the fore-cabin, and then conducted in to the ambassador and commissioners.

As it was well known that, according to the invariable usage of the Chinese court towards foreign embassies, the subject of the *prostration*, or *ko-tow*, would very soon be brought forward by the commissioners deputed to receive us, and that the very circumstance of the last embassy *not* having performed the Tartar ceremony would ensure an early discussion on this point, the line of conduct to be adopted had been, for some time, a matter of serious deliberation. But as the two officers who visited us this day possessed a rank and authority much inferior to those who would hereafter conduct the negotiation, it was considered unadvisable to make any serious mention of the subject to them. On their part, however, a manifest anxiety existed to ascertain the actual intentions of his Excellency on (to the Chinese themselves) this most important point; and it therefore became necessary to inform them that the subject of ceremonies would remain for arrangement with the functionaries appointed to meet us at Tien-tsin. Our mandarins acquainted us that the Emperor, with a view to manifest especial favour towards the second English embassy that had visited his court, had commissioned a *Choong-t'hang*, or Member of the Imperial Cabinet, to receive and conduct us to Peking.

On my presenting the Ambassador's son to the two *Tajins* after the audience, they seemed highly pleased with him. One of them had brought on board his own boy, a young Tartar of eleven years of age, who, on being presented to his Excellency, went down very gracefully on one knee. The Chinese habitually inculcate a respectful demeanour on the part of young people towards their elders, and honour age subordinate only to *learning*. The benefits of such institu-

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tions are apparent in their effects. In no country of the world does a quiet, easy subordination so extensively prevail as in China. The claims of age to respect are so natural that they are accorded without dispute; and the consequence of this as a *habit* is to repress the inexperience and headstrong passion of youth. It appeared that the mandarins had brought with them some provisions for the squadron, but by no means in adequate quantities for the numbers that were on board. The circumstance of their being *gratuitously* offered, as a part of the emperor's bounty, made it awkward and difficult to urge the necessity of a larger supply; and it was therefore considered necessary to apply for permission to purchase the needful quantities on our own account.

On the 5th of August the weather was sufficiently calm to admit of the junks coming alongside for the presents and baggage of the embassy. The total contrariety of the Chinese habits and our own made it requisite for the general comfort that the stores, and other articles for the use of the English party during several months in a strange Asiatic country, should be numerous and bulky; and as our journeys were to be almost entirely by water, there was the less need to be sparing upon this point. The astonishment, however, of the Chinese at the immensity of our "impedimenta" was undisguised. Their self-denying and frugal habits make them strangers to any but the lightest and easiest accommodation in every way. A mat to spread out as a bed, and a hard, hollow pillow of woven rattans, together with the smallest possible box for garments, is all that they generally want for themselves.

As it seemed advisable that some previous steps should be taken to ascertain the number and quality of the accommodation vessels provided for the mission on its journey to Peking, the ambassador commissioned me to proceed on shore in one of the frigate's boats, accompanied by the officer of the guard, for the purpose of making the requisite in-

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quiries. We left the ship at ten o'clock, with the third lieutenant, and though a strong tide ran in our favour, did not reach the shore under three hours. Instead of landing at the mouth of the river, I preferred rowing up to where the boats were lying, and was glad to observe, as we approached, that a considerable number were anchored a little below the temple. On reaching them we were received on board one of the principal boats by several mandarins, the chief of whom wore a light-blue button. A considerable body of soldiers was ranged on the shore, so as to form three sides of a square, of which the boats made the fourth ; and we were saluted on landing with the invariable number of *three* guns. It was well for us that the soldiers were there, for without them we should have been overwhelmed by the immense crowds congregated to get a view of the strangers. One fellow contrived to make his way through; but he was instantly pursued, and after having received a good beating, most unceremoniously kicked out.

Our mandarin entertainers were exceedingly polite, and presented us with tea, sweetmeats, and fruit. After some general conversation I began my business with them, and asked if the boats were quite ready to receive the embassy, adding that his Lordship was desirous of moving at once from the ships to the boats, without any intermediate lodging on shore. To this they replied in the affirmative, and requested that we would look at the three barges prepared for the ambassador and the commissioners. The appearance of these was satisfactory, and we were informed that the vessels for the rest of the party, though not so large, were as neat and convenient. It appeared that there were altogether ten accommodation barges, and twelve boats for the attendants, baggage, and presents. On my mentioning the ambassador's desire to have one vessel so large as to enable our whole party of nineteen to dine together, they said that at present there was no boat large enough for the purpose, but that on

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our arrival at *Tien-tsin* we should be provided with one; at the same time they observed that in the interim the party might be divided into two, an arrangement to which the present boats were adapted.

On looking up, I observed that upon the flags of the boats intended for our conveyance were inscribed the words Koong-she, or "Tribute Emissaries." Not having been authorised by his Excellency to discuss this subject, I took no further notice at the time, but resolved to inform him on my return to the frigate. I then learned from the mandarins that a change had been made in the person deputed to receive the ambassador at Tien-tsin, and that instead of the minister before-mentioned, it was to be *Soo Tajin*, formerly Hoppo at Canton, and now a member of the board of Public Works. When we were going away they offered me an audience of the *Kinchae*, but I declined, expressing my desire to return early with our information to the ambassador. On our departure they loaded our boat with fruit, consisting of pretty good apples and pears, and some peaches of an immense size, but which proved very hard and insipid. The tide being against us, we did not reach the frigate in less than four or five hours.

After a day of tempestuous weather, which prevented all communication with the ships or the shore, a mandarin messenger arrived on the morning of the 8th, bringing a complimentary card from the legate, and a request to his Lordship to hasten his landing with all convenient speed, as the emperor was desirous to see him at Peking. In reply, it was stated that the ambassador was equally desirous to pay his respects to his Majesty; and that, if the baggage and presents could be sent on shore in time, we should all land on the following day. A general take-leave dinner was given on board the frigate, when those persons that were to remain with the squadron bade adieu to their friends who were about to commit themselves, for a period of about six months, to Chinese hospitality.

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By ten o'clock on the morning of the 9th August the junks were nearly laden with the presents and stores belonging to the mission, and we made preparations for going on shore in the boats of the squadron. The royal standard was hoisted by the commodore at the main, the St. George's ensign at the fore, and the East India Company's ensign at the mizen; the yards of the five ships were manned, and a salute of nineteen guns fired from each. His Excellency's descent into his barge was the signal for all the boats to leave their respective ships, the whole number consisting of ten. Some of us preferred proceeding in the junks as far as the mouth of the river, on account of the great length of the pull; but as soon as we had reached the point, all hands repaired to their several stations, and the boats formed in two lines, headed by the barge bearing the royal standard. The embassy never again made so respectable an appearance until the same boats met it on its return, in the river near Canton, and conducted it to the British factory.

On the point of land which formed the entrance of the *Peiho* to the left was a small fort, mounting a few guns. In front of this were drawn out a considerable body of soldiers, dressed in a uniform of blue and red, with colours flying and music playing, while a salute of three guns was fired from the fort. The boats had all the good fortune to cross the bar at the river's mouth without getting aground, though the oars frequently touched bottom. While the officer of the guard proceeded forwards to announce the ambassador's approach to the legate, the fleet of boats pulled up to the place occupied by the Chinese barges. We were soon aboard, and found that the three principal boats (and another provided as a dinner boat) were very commodious; but the remainder appeared so small and ill calculated for their intended purpose, that some remonstrance became necessary: in reply to which it was offered as an excuse, that in the hurry of providing conveyances fo the embassy no better could be procured.

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Soon after our arrival the legate visited his Excellency on board his own boat. It had been previously agreed that this should be merely a visit of compliment, without any introduction of business. The Chinese functionary was very polite and agreeable, taking particular notice of the ambassador's son, a youth of fourteen. The *Kinchae* added that the emperor himself had asked many questions concerning him, and had some presents for him at Peking. It was not difficult to perceive that the *ceremony* was the chief subject of the legate's care and thoughts, though he did not directly mention it, but confined himself to the observation that he hoped "both parties would be found to act agreeably with each other's wishes." The fact that Lord Macartney did *not* perform the *ko-tow* evidently made the present rulers of China very anxious to gain a victory on this point over us. After the legate had withdrawn a considerable time elapsed, and the ambassador then proceeded on board the Tajin's barge to return his visit, as we were to sail early in the morning. A Chinese was heard to say, in the course of conversation, that we were to be conveyed to Peking with all haste in the space of five days. Judging by the usual rate at which Chinese boats travel, we were not very likely to effect the journey in this time, even admitting that all other arrangements proceeded smoothly. The distance from the sea, following the windings of the river, is about two hundred miles; but with the proposed halt at *Tien-tsin*, we were likely to be a very considerable time in working up against the stream.

In the course of the evening we perceived a decided intention on the part of our Chinese conductors to keep us prisoners to our boats, if possible. One of the gentlemen was proceeding a few steps from the front of his boat, when he was civilly requested not to go further; and shortly afterwards, when Captain Hall and myself, with another, were walking along the pathway leading to the Budhist temple, we were requested not to go on, under the plea that the man

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darins were lodged there. This was a state of tutelage which seemed by no means calculated to increase our acquaintance with the country; and I quietly made up my mind that by every legitimate means in my power I would break through it. In the evening the greatest confusion prevailed with regard to our baggage and furniture; and the larger number of us were obliged to pass the night in our clothes, without bedding of any kind. Stretched on the bare boards, which were none of the cleanest, with nothing but our light clothing about us, we had the most convincing evidence of the great difference that prevails here between the temperature of day and night,—at least fifteen or twenty degrees.

I was glad when daylight appeared, and the bustle of unloading the junks into our barges attracted me to the front of our boat. As this, or some other vessel of the same kind, was likely to be our dwelling for months, I took a careful survey of it. The whole accommodation might be forty feet in length, by twelve broad, divided into three compartments, of which the first was an ante-room for servants, the middle a sitting-room, and the portion abaft divided into two or three sleeping-places. The roof was conveniently high, at least seven or eight feet under the beams; the lofty overhanging stern serves as a kitchen, and the crew are lodged, or rather stowed away, in pigeon-holes, in a very puzzling manner. Gangways of stout boards along the outside of each vessel enabled the crew to pole it over the shallows by means of long and light bamboos, and also admitted of the servants passing from head to stern without incommoding the inmates. Glass being scarce in this part of China, the windows consisted of transparent paper and gauze, on which were very tasty devices of flowers, &c.: while the bulkheads, or wooden partitions of the cabins, were carved in high relief and varnished. The decks of the cabins remove in square compartments, and admit of baggage being conveniently stowed away.

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But only the three principal boats were of this superior class.

I was fortunate in sharing the boat of one of the commissioners, Mr. (now the Right Honorable) Henry Ellis, who had invited me to be his fellow-traveller, and we were joined this day by Lieutenant Somerset and Mr. Abbott, the present Lord Colchester. The Chinese showed so little disposition to consult our comfort and convenience, and their usages were so generally contrary to our own, that nothing but the extreme novelty of our situation, in this prohibited land, would have made it otherwise than disagreeable.

During the process of unloading the junks, on the morning of our getting under weigh for Peking, a Chinese on board one of them was either caught stealing, or suspected of stealing something. He was immediately seized by the tail, and in spite of his loud protestations brought over to the head of our boat, to receive the punishment of *face-slapping*, which is inflicted with a flat piece of wood. Seeing them throw him down as a preliminary to the castigation, I immediately interfered, and desired that our vessel might not be turned into an execution-dock for criminals. The mandarin excused himself by saying that the man had stolen our things, and was therefore punished in our boats; but I told him that if *that* were a reason, the junk where the offence was committed was the properest place. They then took him on shore, where he received his punishment; and I had no doubt of the interference being well-timed, for the object of the Chinese was evidently to *lower* us if they could.

The legate preceded us last night to Tien-tsin, and our fleet of boats set off at 10 A. M., passing several small villages at a tardy pace, as we were tracked against a strong ebb tide by the labour of a string of men, wading through the mud up to their knees. The track-rope consists of three strips of split rattan interwoven, and is admirably calculated by its lightness and strength for the purpose, being fastened to

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the top of the mast, with a smaller cord leading off from the main one for each tracker. We presently passed a low and marshy plain devoid of inhabitants, and covered with a species of rush. In these flat districts near the sea are extensive salt-works, for the supply of the capital. The salt which they gave us was of a dirty brown colour, and in coarse grains, as it came out of the salt-pans. It was indeed lucky that we had brought a good supply of provisions of all kinds, as those supplied to us by the emperor's *ghen-tien*, or bounty, were totally unworthy of the occasion. There is reason to attribute this chiefly to peculation on the part of the purveyors.

Neither of the mandarins, our conductors, showed the least attention in visiting the ambassador at our occasional places of stoppage, as we had been led to expect from the accounts of the former mission. From whatever cause it might arise there seemed to exist a decided ill-will towards us; and as the authorities at Canton had good reason to apprehend that we went as complainants against themselves, it appeared probable that their influence at Peking had prejudiced our cause there.

The near approach of the mission to *Tien-tsin* was likely to bring the question of ceremonials into immediate discussion, and there could be no doubt of its being required of the ambassador that he should make the nine prostrations before the emperor's imagined presence. Among experienced and well-informed people no two opinions could exist on this subject; and the most determined refusal seemed absolutely necessary, with the precedent of the last mission before us. My own persuasion (founded on the import which the ko-tow bears among the Chinese themselves) was, that even before the emperor himself such an act of homage should be considered as impossible from the representative of our sovereign. Similar reasons led me to wish that the inscription *Koong-she*, "tribute-bearer," had not been allowed to be suspended from the mast of the ambassador's

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yacht, in conformity with the precedent of the last embassy. The Chinese histories observe of the conduct of an emperor of the *Soong* dynasty, who concluded a peace with the Tartars on humiliating terms, that "he shamefully made use, in the treaty, of the word *koong* (tribute)." We might perhaps have required that our own flag should supply the place of the other, without making the propriety of the inscription a point of debate. There would have been an appearance of reason in this proposition, for our own flag was as good a mark for the boat as theirs, if not a better. Moreover, if we were not to knock head at last, it seemed more consistent with such a line of conduct, because "tribute bearers" have hardly any pretensions to such scruples.

It seemed, however, that the ambassador had received it in his instructions from our government, to consider the matter entirely as a question of expediency, with full authority to comply, should compliance be calculated to attain the substantial objects of the mission. I felt persuaded that, instead of gaining any points by such a measure, we should only become contemptible in the eyes of the Chinese, and in fact do ourselves more harm than good. Witness the Dutch embassy, whose whole amount of profit consisted of a good deal of ridicule, and some half-gnawed bones from the emperor's table. As far as personal feelings were concerned, the ambassador could not be otherwise than averse from compliance; but with authority, or at least permission, from home to yield the point rather than make it the ground of a rupture, it became necessary to proceed with circumspection. At the same time it could never have been intended that he should comply unconditionally, or without securing some at least of those important points which were reserved as the subjects of negotiation. Were we to have an audience of the emperor, and do homage at once without bringing any of these subjects forward, nothing could be easier for the Peking government than to send us off immo-

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diately afterwards, saying that we had now finished all that we came about. Reserved and unfriendly, not to say rude, as the conduct of our conductors had hitherto been, one felt inclined to anticipate the worst; and there seemed so little prospect of succeeding in *anything*, that it became a question whether the point of ceremony might not be the best to break off upon, since it would involve no article of ulterior negotiation, but be a good mode of asserting our independence, without making other matters worse than they were before.

It was curious to observe the difference between the instructions received from the government and the recommendations emanating from the Court of Directors. The former implied that we went simply in search of whatever we could pick up, and that the performance of the ceremony was to be regarded in no other view than as it affected the question of profit or loss. The Company said, "Have most regard to the effect that the embassy is to produce at Canton; complain of the conduct of the local authorities to our trade; and make no concessions, in point of ceremony or reception, which appear calculated to diminish the national respectability of the English at that place." Now as the welfare of the Company's trade was really the chief object of the embassy, it was fair to conclude that the Company was the party most likely to give the best advice, their reasonings being founded on their past knowledge and experience. Distant as Peking was from the seat of our trade, the effect of the mission at Canton was of more consequence than its mere nominal reception at court; and less was to be gained by a servile compliance with the demands of the imperial government (which, as in the case of the Dutch, would only aggravate our ill-treatment), than by a manly appeal to the justice of the emperor against the insolence and extortions of his officers at Canton, and by a decent maintenance of our national independence. The Chinese are so ignorant of foreign nations, and therefore so illiberal,

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that their good opinion, and consequent good offices, are not to be gained by undue concessions in essential points. These they always regard as necessary acts of deference to their immense superiority, and therefore nothing extraordinary; while a contrary line of conduct, tending to dispel their absurd illusions, causes them to consider us on a footing of greater equality. At the same time none but the most ignorant or wrong-headed would ever, in the first instance, withhold from them that conciliatory tone of demeanour and language, a failing in which lowers us to a level with the Chinese themselves.

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CHAPTER III.

On approaching the suburbs of Tien-tsin, we could perceive the great heaps of salt, like small hills, at some distance, together with a vast concourse of people prepared to stare at us. This city, from its great trade in salt, from being the entrepôt for all the grain which is brought northward for the consumption of the capital, and from its constituting a sort of *trivium*, or point of confluence for the three channels leading from Peking, from the sea, and the grand canal, is one of the largest in the empire. The crowd was really astonishing, and presented the most numerous collection of human creatures we had ever seen in one place. The piles of salt were covered with them, and they lined each sloping bank of the river as far as we could view, in the long course of our passage through the town, which occupied above an hour. Many well-dressed persons were to be seen, but others, chiefly boys, quite naked. The thermometer in our boat stood at 87°; but still the people on the banks remained generally without any covering on their shaven heads, some of them merely holding up a fan to keep off the sun. Soldiers were arrayed along the shore in companies of thirty men each, with long intervals, and with flags or pendants between each company. Some few had matchlocks, but the greatest number nothing but swords, with bows and arrows. One or two companies, perhaps the *elite*, were muffled up in a yellow dress, striped, to imitate a tiger's hide; but it was agreed that they looked very unlike either soldiers or tigers. We occasionally saw specimens of the military who had the word '*yoong*"—valour, inscribed on the breast. This might

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be all very well; but when the same individuals turned round and displayed the identical word inscribed on their *backs*, the position seemed particularly unsuitable—unless, indeed, in the sense of Hudibras.

On our boats arriving at the landing-place, nearly opposite to the public hall, where *Soo Tajin* and the legate were waiting, a message arrived to say, that they would visit the ambassador in his boat; but a desire was soon after expressed that his Excellency should first go to see them. To this it was replied that, being the guest, his Lordship must expect to receive the first visit, and he should be happy to see them whenever it was most convenient. The mandarins then sent a message, requesting a visit from two other gentlemen of the suite and myself. We accordingly went after dinner, and were received in state. From our boats to the hall the road was spread with mats. Upon our entrance, *Soo Tajin* and the legate rose up, and after a few words the whole party sat down together. They requested us to sit to the left, the place of honour—one of the numerous instances in which their custom is the exact opposite of ours. At different epochs of Chinese history, the place of honour has been alternately the left and the right hand; but that the left was the original rule may be inferred from their language always expressing "left and right," instead of, as we say, "right and left." During the dynasty of *Soong*, which preceded the Mongol Tartars, the left was the chief place; but under Zenghis Khan and his successors the right had the precedence. Then, again, when the Chinese emperors were restored with the race of *Ming*, the old rule was re-established. In the case of our ambassador and the two commissioners, his associates, the Chinese distinguished them by the "middle, or principal," the "left hand," and the "right hand" envoys.

During our audience the legate was the most talkative and ready man of the two. His associate, Soo

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Tajin, could not be otherwise than very old—since he was commissioner of customs at Canton above twenty years previous to this. They commenced in the usual strain, dwelling on the high favour with which their great emperor viewed all persons coming from so vast a distance to pay their respects to him. The mandarins then said, that as we must be in a great hurry to get back to our country, our stay at Peking should be as short as possible. To this it was answered, that having come so far, the repose of a month at least seemed necessary; and the ambassador would not consider such a hurried dismissal as the one proposed, to be quite consonant with the hospitality which the representatives of one great nation should expect at the hands of another. It was, at the same time, remarked by us that forty days was the term allotted for the residence of foreign embassies at the capital. They hinted at our pursuing our journey towards the court on the following day; but this was declared to be physically impossible, as the whole of our baggage remained to be unshipped from the junks into the boats. The legate observed that in the last embassy the king's letter had been shown in this place; but the fact was otherwise—for *Jĕ-ho* (Zhehol) was the place at which it had been opened, considerably after the arrival of the mission at Peking; and this we were obliged to state very clearly, on the testimony of Lord Macartney's own journal.

They asked a great many questions concerning the ambassador's son and the gentlemen who composed his Excellency's suite. A technical objection was urged to the term we had adopted to designate those who officiated as Chinese secretaries of the embassy, on the ground of its being the title of the Tartar secretaries at Peking. As they were of course the best judges of their own language, we readily agreed to use another term that was suggested as more suitable. After some further conversation we took our leave; and on returning to our boats informed his Lordship that the two Tajins were coming to visit him forthwith.

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They presently arrived, and were received by the ambassador and commissioners with great ceremony. Old *Soo Tajin* observed, he remembered a youth in the former embassy, of the same age as the son of Lord Amherst. This was no other than Sir George Staunton himself, one of our commissioners, who immediately came forward and made himself known to the old gentleman, who declared himself *surprised* and happy to see him: though there was every reason to suppose that the accounts from Canton must have long since put him in possession of this piece of information. The subject of the king's letter was again brought forward, but they could get nothing more than a promise from his Excellency to consider the matter and give them an answer hereafter. It was arranged that the whole embassy should attend at nine o'clock on the following morning at an entertainment especially conferred by the emperor. His Majesty keeps very early hours, as we afterwards found on our arrival at his court.

At nine o'clock, accordingly, sedan chairs were assembled on shore for the ambassador, commissioners, and suite; while immense crowds lined the river, as well as the streets through which we were to pass. We had lately had ample proof that the Chinese are naturally as curious as most other people, and that the affected indifference and incuriosity of their great men is the result of policy and calculation. The body-guard were drawn up in front of the boats by their officers, and when all was prepared the procession advanced, the guard and band leading the way, followed by a number of chairs conveying his Excellency and suite, each of them carried by four bearers in dress caps. The streets through which we passed to the hall of entertainment, a distance of about a mile, were crowded to excess, and yet the silence and respect of the populace were so great that we could almost have heard a pin drop. It was a sea of heads in a perfect calm. I left the front of my chair open for observation, and could hear the people whispering

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(for they ventured not to speak aloud) their remarks to each other.

When we came to the end of our journey the whole party alighted, and going through an outer court lined with Chinese soldiers, chiefly bowmen, entered the great hall, where the imagined presence of the emperor resided. This is just such adulation as the Romans and their provincials paid to Augustus and his successors, raising altars to them throughout the empire,—"Præsens divus habebitur!" A very large concourse of mandarins of rank, with their attendants, filled the room, and their richly embroidered dresses produced a fine effect. At the upper end were arranged the presents intended for us from the emperor himself, consisting of rolls of silk; while near the other extremity, where we entered, was erected a stage for the performance of certain theatrical pieces to accompany the feast.

On the ground, and in front of the altar and yellow curtain, where the emperor's presence was supposed to reside, they had laid small red carpets in rows, and on our first entrance I at once guessed what was the intention of these. Some mandarins soon confirmed my suspicions, by coming up and requesting me very politely to inform the gentlemen, my companions, of the places where they were to perform "the nine prostrations!" I said nothing, but looked as if I did not understand them.

The ambassador and commissioners, in the mean while, were engaged in a very interesting conference with *Soo Tajin* and the legate within. The latter introduced the subject of the ceremony at once, affecting to take it for granted that it must be performed. The ambassador expressed his readiness to evince his respect for the emperor, by paying him the same obeisance that he was accustomed to perform to his own sovereign, and the same that Lord Macartney had performed, viz., kneeling on one knee. To this the mandarins immediately replied, by asserting roundly that the last ambassador had performed the prostrations.

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They probably quoted the last edition of the imperial annals, published by authority—"prioribus auctior et *eo mendacior*."

His Lordship, however, informed them, very civilly, that we could not possibly be under any mistake on a point of such importance, concerning which the most faithful records had been preserved; and when they perceived that nothing was to be gained in an honest way, they began to inquire respecting the ceremony which he performed to his own sovereign, and requested him to show them what it was. His Excellency observed that it could only be practised before the emperor; but a happy thought struck the first commissioner, namely, that the ambassador's son might perform it before his father by way of exemplification. This was immediately done, and the mandarins seemed highly pleased, tallying as it did with the notions of their own country respecting the demeanour of a son to his parents. They likewise seemed not dissatisfied with the proposed ceremony as a mark of respect to their emperor; but still insisted on the necessity of compliance with the Tartar prostration. His Lordship declared that, without now adverting to what his respect for the emperor might induce him to do in his Majesty's presence, it was quite impossible for him to kneel before the curtain; but that he would bow before it, a mark of respect which he was accustomed to pay to the vacant throne of his own sovereign. The legate was at first strongly opposed to this, and began to talk about the loss which his Excellency would sustain in missing the favours that the emperor intended for himself and for his son, appealing to his feelings as a father, &c., &c. This was all quite à la Chinoise—but the ambassador replied, that he must not forget his duty, however great might be his desire to please the emperor; and that if they would not accept his proffered marks of respect he must decline the honour of the feast intended for him. They appeared quite thunderstruck at the idea of rejecting the great emperor's bounty: but the tone of deter-

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mination which it evinced had the effect, at length, of inducing their acquiescence.

When the whole party had taken their places on the red carpets, already mentioned, the two Chinese commissioners "fell down and worshipped," in unison with the notes of a low and plaintive kind of music. They went three times down upon their hands and knees, and each time struck the ground thrice with their foreheads;* while our English party, standing up in the meanwhile made nine profound bows. The feast that succeeded has been particularised in another place.† The theatrical performance, unfortunately for us, was of that heroical or tragical cast which they always accompany with a hubbub of noises proceeding from gongs, drums, cymbals, and everything else calculated to deafen the ears. This department of their theatre is infinitely less agreeable than the familiar and comic portion, which was probably deemed unsuitable to the dignity and importance of the present occasion.

In his appendix to the French edition of the CHINESE, M. Bazin has introduced some scenes from a comedy called the *Miser;* lately translated by Professor Stanislas Julien, and abounding in striking touches of character, with the occasional mixture of the most extravagant burlesque, not unlike portions of Molière's *Avare.* This Chinese Harpagon comes on the stage, in the last act, attended by a lad whom he had adopted as his heir. The old miser is in the last extremity of self-created wretchedness, and a prey to sickness and ill-humour. "Alas," he exclaims, "how long the days seem to one who suffers like me! It is nearly twenty years since I adopted this young hare-

* The *San-kwei, kew-kow,* or "Three kneelings and nine bumpings," with which the Chinese worship their emperor, are practised by the emperor in worshipping Heaven; and this is the "*Three times three,*" to which they would subject the whole world.

† The Chinese, in Weekly Volume, vol. ii. p. 15.

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brain. I expend nothing on myself—not a farthing —not half a farthing—while he, the fool, knows nothing of the value of money. To him money is a mere means of procuring food and clothing!—beyond that he values it no more than dirt. Could he tell all the pains which torment me when I am obliged to lay out the tenth part of a tael!

"*Boy.* Father, don't you want something to eat?

"*Miser.* No. My sickness is caused by a fit of anger. I went lately to buy a roasted duck in the market, at that shop which you know: they were just roasting one, from which there flowed the richest gravy; under the pretence of bargaining I took it in my hands, and held it until all my fingers were covered with gravy. Coming home thus without buying the duck, I sent for a dish of boiled rice: with each spoonful of rice I licked a finger; but about the fourth spoonful I suddenly fell asleep on this wooden bench, and during my sleep a dog came and licked my last finger clean. When I discovered the theft on waking, I fell into such a rage that I became ill. Alas, my sickness is getting the better of me, I shall soon be a dead man! Well, let me spend something for once. Son, I should like to eat some bean gruel.*

"*Boy.* I will go and buy some for a few farthings.

"*Miser.* For one farthing; it is quite enough!

"*Boy.* One farthing? I should not get a spoonful for that! Who will sell me so little?"

[The boy pays ten copper coins for some, but without being able to escape the vigilant eyes of the miser, who loads him with reproaches.]

"*Miser.* I saw you take ten pieces and pay them to the shopman; was there ever such extravagance!

"*Boy.* He owes me five of them in change; I shall be repaid another day.

"*Miser.* But, before trusting him, you did not re-

* Used by the Chinese when they fast.

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quire his name, and who are his neighbours on the right and left.

"*Boy.* Why take such precautions for such a trifle?

"*Miser.* If he should decamp with my five farthings, who will repay them to me? . . . . . I feel my end approaching. Tell me, son, in what sort of coffin will you bury me?

"*Boy.* If such a misfortune should overtake me, I will buy the handsomest coffin of fir that I can find.

"*Miser.* Don't do any thing so foolish,—fir costs too much. When one is dead there is no difference between fir and willow.* Is there not an old stable-trough behind the house? It will make an excellent coffin for me.

"*Boy.* But consider, it is too broad and too short; we shall never be able to get you into it; you are too long in the body.

"*Miser.* Well, if the trough is not long enough, it is very easy to shorten my corpse; take a hatchet and cut me in two, put in one half over the other, and the whole will enter easily. But I have one word to say, don't use my good hatchet for the purpose; go and borrow one of a neighbour.

"*Boy.* But with our own in the house, why borrow a neighbour's?

"*Miser.* You don't know how hard my bones are; if you turn the edge of my axe, it will cost something to reset it.

"*Boy.* As you please; but I must go to the temple to burn incense on your account. Give me some money.

"*Miser.* Son, it is useless; burn no incense for me.

"*Boy.* I made the vow long since; I can no longer delay performing it.

"*Miser.* Well, then, I will give you a farthing.

* This militates against the strongest feeling of the Chinese, that of sepulture, concerning which they are so scrupulous that many of them have their coffins made during life.

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"*Boy.* It is too little.

"*Miser.* Two farthings.

"*Boy.* Too little.

"*Miser.* Well, then, three; that's enough;—too much, too much, too much!—Son, my last hour is come; when I am no more, remember to go and demand the five farthings that are due! [*Dies.*]"

The French editor adds, "Voilà ce qui s'appelle un caractère soutenu jusqu'à la fin. Ce trait vaut mieux encore que le dernier mot d'Harpagon:—'Et moi, voir ma chère cassette.'—Il est plus piquant, plus inattendu."

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CHAPTER IV.

On our return from the imperial entertainment the heat was so intense that most of the party were glad to shun its influence by keeping quiet on board the boats. We were not a little amused by the specimen of celestial liberality displayed in the presents conferred on us by the emperor. These looked very well when arranged in order at the hall of reception, but on being opened they proved to consist principally of paper wrapped round with silk, instead of silk wrapped round with paper! His imperial majesty here proved himself greatly inferior to his delegate, the viceroy of Canton, who, in exchanging presents with the president of the British factory, used to send really handsome silks, of a description made exclusively for officers of government, and not procurable in the shops. In this display of liberality, however, it is most probable that the viceroy was assisted by the unfortunate Hong merchants, who on such occasions generally paid the bill—"Sic vos non vobis, mellificatis apes."

In the evening we endeavoured to find some means of crossing to the opposite or southern bank of the river, for the purpose of walking, and of getting a nearer view of some imperial summer-houses and gardens, which had a very inviting look from our place of anchorage. There appeared, however, to be so much unwillingness on the part of our Chinese conductors to carry us over, that his Lordship thought it better not to hazard anything unpleasant at the conclusion of a day which had passed off so well.

A great change subsequently took place in our proceedings on similar occasions. Being as yet

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novices on our way to Peking, and desirous of remaining on good terms with the court, these restraints on our natural liberty were submitted to, however unwillingly. When after events placed us in some measure at issue with the government, and it no longer seemed necessary to keep terms with it, the vexatious restraints now imposed upon us were soon broken through by a little determination on our part; and when the Chinese found from experience that we were really a very harmless and inoffensive species of wild beasts, they no longer attempted to interfere with our excursions, which carried us over all the country adjoining our frequent halting-places, as well as through some of their largest cities, as will appear anon.

Towards night Chang and Yin Tajin came in an easy and friendly manner, divested of their fine dresses as we were of ours, to converse with the ambassador and commissioners. It appeared that *Tungchow*, in the neighbourhood of Peking, the place to which our boats were proceeding, was about fifty miles from *Tien-tsin* by land, and thus the distance of the capital from the sea is considerably above one hundred miles. In our existing state of war with the celestial empire, this is a point which may become one of some consequence. Owing to the very meandering course of the river through a flat country, the distance by water is perhaps nearly twice as great as that by land, and the channel could be blocked up. The latter route, however, would be likely to prove difficult, from the numerous intersections of streams and ditches, in a country where the high roads are very little more than pathways. It cannot be denied that after taking vengeance in the south, where our cause of quarrel originated, it would be of high importance to produce an impression at Peking itself; unless anticipated (as already seems to have been the case) by some show of concession. Against Peking, one of the main objects must be the transport of artillery, the chief obstacle to which would arise from the non-existence of broad and hard roads.

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We left Tien-tsin at daylight on the morning of the 14th of August, and, as the progress of the boats was extremely slow, one of the commissioners and myself succeeded in getting on shore, and attempted a walk along the bank of the river. Everything proceeded smoothly until we had occasion to pass through a small village. Here we were soon noticed, and the strange sight presently brought together a numerous and by no means clean rabble, whose excessive and importunate curiosity proved so noisome, that it fairly drove us on board again.

A Mahometan mosque was pointed out to us by our conductors. The followers of the Prophet were numerous in China during the Mongol dynasty founded by Koblai Khan, as those of Budha have been under the Manchows, and of course more numerous in the north than in the south. They exist, however, even as far south as Canton at the present day. One circumstance alone is calculated to prevent the spread of Mahometanism among the poorer Chinese—the prohibition against pork. As in Ireland, and all poor agricultural countries, *the pig* becomes an indispensable item in domestic economy; and it would be barbarous to rob them of it. The Chinese Mahometans not unfrequently exercise the vocation of mutton and beef butchers, the latter of which is abhorrent to the Budhists, from their prejudice against slaying the ox tribe. So the matter remains at issue between beef and pork—between Budha and Mahomet; and who shall decide when doctors disagree? The Chinese Mahometans are always distinguished by a pointed cap.

The country above Tien-tsin was not essentially different in appearance from that which we had passed lower down the river. It was well cultivated, and the chief produce seemed to be the *kaou-leang*, or "tall millet" (holcus sorghum), in the vicinity of the banks. But the most interesting objects of all were the vast numbers of grain junks, ranged in order along the side of the river, and commencing just above Tien-tsin, at a village or town called Petsâng, or the

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"Northern Granary." For a whole day we sailed rapidly past an unbroken string of these, moored in exact order, with their heads to the bank; the stem of each junk rested upon the side of the one next to it down the stream, a position which they necessarily assumed from their close contiguity. Their average burthen is about two thousand peculs, or above a hundred tons; but being flat-bottomed, and very high out of the water, they had the appearance of a much greater capacity. The total number annually unladen is above ten thousand: they chiefly sail up from the southern provinces during the fourth moon, or about June, when the monsoon is favourable, and return empty in the ninth moon, or about November. The great object of an invading army would be to arrest the progress of these on their voyage to the north, or to get possession of them, either for capture or destruction, on their arrival at Tien-tsin. Were a foreign force to enter the Peiho from the sea, the grain junks would be either intrenched above Tien-tsin (between that and the capital), or withdrawn into the grand canal. It is probable that of the whole season between June and November, the period at which we saw them (August and September) was that in which they are collected in the largest numbers. Each vessel had a badge or painting on the stern, which indicated its being public or imperial property. There is a superintendent, as well as a set of regulations, for their express government; and care is taken to prevent the large numbers on board (for they form the abodes of whole families) from abusing the privileges of imperial vessels.

We contrived in the evening to go on shore, and had a pretty good walk along the banks; but the extreme fearfulness of the mandarins, who had charge of our boats, lest we should involve them by getting into some trouble, rendered our excursion both short and unpleasant. It required some philosophy to bear these repeated checks and restraints upon our natural curiosity, and indeed upon that degree of bodily

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exercise which was essential to health; but we learned afterwards to pay little attention to their pretexts for urging our remaining in the barges. The ambassador and each of the two commissioners had an inferior military mandarin attached as an attendant on his boat. One of these appeared in the evening, and announced that the two imperial legates were coming to pay separate visits to the three members of the mission, on board their respective boats.

Soo Tajin was a fine old man of above eighty years of age, with a pleasing countenance, and affable and polished manners. He was by no means so alert and talkative as his colleague, Kwong (though his superior in rank), which we of course attributed to his advanced age. In the diplomatic science, however, of "telling lies for the good of his country," he proved himself a perfect adept, insisting on a personal recollection of the prostration having been performed by Lord Macartney before the emperor! Kwong Tajin was considerably younger than the other, and extremely thin and emaciated in person. His penetrating eye was constantly on the look-out to observe any changes in the countenances of those he conversed with; but, though a physiognomist as regarded others, he did not govern his own looks very well, occasionally betraying a degree of anxiety and nervousness which might be the result of his physical condition—for he bore some of the signs of an opium smoker. Upon the whole, however, he was a good specimen of the ability of a Chinese mandarin, and his behaviour towards us during the five months of our journey was marked by as much liberality and courtesy as he dared, under the circumstances, to display.

In their visit to the ambassador's boat they talked a little on business, but their conversation with the third commissioner, for whom I volunteered to be the medium of communication, was chiefly complimentary and of a general nature. At their particular request Lord Amherst had allowed them to see the

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golden box which contained the Prince Regent's picture. Though this was a magnificent thing of its kind, and valued at fifteen hundred pounds, they expressed little or no admiration at the sight of it. Infinitely greater was the veneration with which they regarded a little yellow silk purse, which had been given by the late emperor, Kien-long, to the second commissioner, and which he produced to them on this occasion.

In their half-official, half-friendly visit of to-day, the mandarins exhibited the strange Chinese custom of inquiring *names* and *ages*, which would be regarded as the very reverse of politeness in most other countries. Names, however, are matters of much ceremony with them, and every man has half-a-dozen names conferred on him at different periods from his birth. The first is the "milk-name," given as soon as an infant is a month old, when it is produced by the mother to a party of assembled friends, on which occasion the father pronounces its name before the company, and some prayers or sacrifices are offered at the same time. The "book-name," is given by the *sëenseng* or master, when a boy first enters school, and is the establishment of the pedagogue's dominion over his pupil. He kneels before a paper inscribed with the name of one of the sages of the Confucian sect, and prays for his favourable influence on the boy, whose new name he at the same time pronounces. The master is then seated, while his new scholar pays his homage by performing the prostration. When a young man is married, his father bestows on him another name, on which occasion an entertainment is given, and the ancestors of the family worshipped. Upon the marriage of his first son, every man adds two characters or syllables to his own name: while at the same time, the family name, or surname, remains always the same. "I beg to inquire your lofty surname, and great name?" is the ceremonious form of words in common use.

15th July.—In the afternoon the two imperial

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legates went on board the ambassador's boat. It was with no small surprise we heard that his majesty had objected to the band of musicians accompanying the embassy, and the marginal note was written with the *vermilion pencil*, that is in red, with his own hand. In return to this very ungracious announcement, it was urged that the objection should have been earlier made, before we had quitted the neighbourhood of the ship; that to separate some dozen of the attendants from the embassy at this late period, when we had advanced so near the capital, would be extremely inconvenient, if not impossible. The two mandarins retired without any decision having been made; but they seemed to be aware of the difficulties of the case, and only argued the point on the ground of the emperor's express pleasure, and the embarrassing nature of their own position.

On this second day we proceeded, as the day before, along an interminable line of the grain-junks, whose immense numbers were calculated to convey a deep impression of the magnitude of this empire and of its edible resources. At seven o'clock in the evening a second conference took place on board the ambassador's boat. The two legates came in agitated and out of humour, and said that they had just now, for the first time, heard of the departure of our ships from the Yellow sea; that on the nineteenth of the moon provisions had been ordered to the squadron, but that when the boats proceeded to the anchorage the ships were not to be seen. The mandarins expressed the utmost astonishment and concern at this event, and asked why the ambassador had not apprised them of it? His lordship very naturally replied, that the ships in the last embassy had sailed on the second day after the disembarkation, and that he had deemed it quite superfluous to speak to them on a subject so obvious as the necessity for the ships leaving an exposed and dangerous anchorage, where they were within a few feet of being aground at low

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water. He added, that they had never asked him any question, on their part, touching the subject. They, however, insisted upon it that they had, and Kwong Tajin, losing his temper, turned to Dr. Morrison, who was interpreter, and accused him of having misrepresented his words. The latter very properly replied, that if such were the case he had rather not interpret any more; while his Excellency at the same time requested another gentleman to declare to the legates that he considered such behaviour on their parts very indecorous, and personally offensive to himself. They began on this to recover themselves, and apologised to Dr. Morrison. As they urged with great apparent earnestness that the emperor would attach blame to them on this occasion, and that they were seriously alarmed for themselves, it was readily agreed that they should be furnished with a written document from the ambassador in their own exculpation. In this manner the conference ended much more agreeably than it had begun.

We anchored for the night close to the shore, and I was attracted by the appearance of several small tents to land and examine them. Each contained two or three soldiers, dressed in the usual colours, blue bound with red. On desiring to look at their swords, they pulled them with some difficulty out of the sheaths, and displayed blades that were no better than hoop iron, covered with rust. The men were nothing superior to the general run of mandarin followers in strength, stature, or bearing; but were lying about on the ground in a very slovenly state; and it was a general opinion among us that our little guard of picked men, from the marines of the frigate, could have marched through Tien-tsin with great ease, and in spite of the opposition it might have met with from all the troops we saw there.

Their soldiers were generally drawn up in one line along the bank, with great intervals, so as to make the most of them. The dress was a long petticoat,

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and over that a *ma-kwa*, or large-sleeved jacket, descending below the middle. This and the thick-soled shoe or boot gave them a very inactive and unmilitary appearance. It may be supposed that a large portion of their parade dress is left behind in actual service. The bow and arrow is the weapon on which they appear to set the most value; the bow is remarkably neat in construction, and in shape similar to those of India. Each soldier has about a dozen arrows in a quiver behind him. The matchlocks which we saw were truly wretched, and appeared rusted through, so as not to be fired without danger. The butt terminates nearly in a point, and is not held to the shoulder in firing, but close to the side: they possess nothing like bayonets.

They have various spears; one with a kind of knife-blade, and another with a point and a sharp hook at the side. The Chinese worship their standards, and offer sacrifices to them, as the old Romans did. The falling down of a standard is ominous of defeat. It seems that on unlucky days, as denoted by the kalendar, they had rather not go forth to battle. The fact is not generally known, that Chinese were drilled and paid as soldiers in the British service during Sir William Draper's occupation of Manilla, but never tried in any engagement. Their sober and orderly habits, and general physical superiority to other Asiatics, are qualities which in the course of time might fit them well for military purposes; but there is every reason to believe that the *actual* Chinese soldiers, some of whom we have already encountered in our war with the country, are of a very poor and inefficient description.

August 16.—We were aroused at half-past five in the morning with the intelligence that the legates were coming to pay separate visits to the ambassador and commissioners. These would be thought very strange hours in Downing-street. As it turned out, they went only on board his excellency's boat. First came Chang and Yin Tajin, and then Soo and Kwong.

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A very long and earnest conference took place respecting the performance of the ceremony. The Chinese began abruptly by proposing the alternative of *Yes* or *No;* but the tables were altogether turned on them by Lord Amherst declaring that it was his fixed determination to go back rather than submit unconditionally to a ceremonial which had not been undergone by Lord Macartney. It would seem that an answer had arrived yesterday from Peking to the report sent up of the transactions at Tien-tsin; and that the emperor, far from being satisfied with our performances there, expected full compliance at court.

The ambassador, in order to show his disposition to meet the Chinese half-way, proposed two conditions, on either of which he was not unwilling to perform the Tartar ceremony. First, the proposal made by Lord Macartney, that a Chinese of equal rank with himself should perform the prostration before the portrait of the king of England; or, secondly, that a written assurance should be given on the part of the emperor, declaring, that in the case of an ambassador proceeding on his part to Great Britain, he would be bound to pay a corresponding mark of respect to our sovereign. Of course, the only intention of either was to remove from the act of prostration all idea of unequal homage. Nothing could be settled in this conference to the satisfaction of either party; and it soon appeared that we were to drop a little way down the river to a better place of anchorage, and there wait for an answer from Peking; all further negotiation being apparently at an end until that ultimatum arrived.

August 17.—Chang and Yin came to his lordship's boats. It is observable that these mandarins always go in couples, as spies upon each other. Such is the invariable practice of this jealous government, in order to prevent "a traitorous intercourse with foreigners." No further communication had been received from Peking; but the negotiation

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seemed again to be opened, and the boats were to get under weigh for Tungchow. It was very probable that, determined not to dispense with the prostration, the mandarins were instructed to conduct us to that place, in order that the last attempt might be made to induce our compliance before we were finally dismissed. It might, however, be the case, that the emperor was disposed to yield, and merely delayed his assent for the sake of avoiding too sudden a concession. Under the latter supposition, we were on the high road to Peking; but, under the former, not very likely to get there, for the ambassador having once determined on his line of conduct could not very well depart from it.

We seemed to be proceeding (and I was happy to observe it) on the principles already laid down at p. 32. Their conduct towards us hitherto left no reason to doubt that we should gain nothing more *with* compliance than we could gain *without* it; and by holding out on the present point we asserted our independence at least. This in reference to such a people as the Chinese was something *gained*; and as regarded other points, which had not yet been brought forward, matters remained just as they were, and there was certainly nothing *lost*. We had dropped a little way down the stream, and anchored close to the shore at a place called *Tsaetsun*, or the "Herb village." At a short distance from our boats were a few huts or cottages, and the country consisted of fields cultivated with grain, chiefly the tall millet.

The following incident is characteristic of Chinese modes of negotiation, and of the pertinacity with which they put every means into play to effect their ends if possible. There could remain no doubt as to the late retrograde movement of our boats having been adopted as a trial of the ambassador's firmness. Soon after we anchored, the Canton mandarin, who had visited the ships, came to me in the second commissioner's boat, saying that he was sent by the legates to speak on the subject of the existing dis-

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cussions. I expressed my surprise at his applying to me, and asked why he did not go to the proper authorities. I added, that without the ambassador's knowledge and sanction, I must decline conversing with him on a matter of such consequence; and at the same time disowned all knowledge of his lordship's plans, further than his generally understood declaration that the Tartar prostration could not be performed by the British embassy. He then began to observe what a pity it would be if we went back without seeing the great emperor, and how incensed our king would be when he became acquainted with our proceedings. He asked me to tell him what ceremony we performed in the presence of our sovereign; to which I replied that it was certainly not the ko-tow, and that further than that I wished to say nothing on the subject. He still continued to expatiate on the impropriety of refusing compliance, and to enlarge on the great advantages which the English derived from the Canton trade, and the extreme benevolence of the emperor in granting it to us. To this I replied, that the Chinese nation was just as much benefited as we could be, and that there was not the slightest inequality of interests. As my impatience at this unforeseen visit now became somewhat manifest, my mandarin left me, having, I believe, succeeded in getting as little as possible from me; but, at the same time, betrayed very evidently the object of their *ruse* in turning our boats down the stream.

In the evening we went on shore at the place of anchorage, and had a pleasant walk, though we did not stray far from the boats. To the north we could observe some blue mountains, which could only be those of Tartary. The climate began to improve in regard to temperature, for the thermometer in the mornings did not exceed seventy degrees, though in the afternoon it rose to above eighty. In a hot climate it is always a great mitigation when the nights are cool enough to enjoy repose.

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It seemed that two mandarins of much higher rank than our present conductors were to meet us at *Tung-chow*, which rather proved that the behaviour of these had been condemned, and that they were in disgrace for not managing us better. I was persuaded that they were now anxious to hurry us to Tung-chow, in order that the failure of the new delegates (for they begin at last to understand us) may serve to exculpate themselves. The hurry with which we proceeded on our way, after the boats' heads had been turned to *Tung-chow*, proved that the short retrograde movement had been a mere feverish attempt to work upon us, and that they now tried to make up the lost time. Some of our party were nearly left behind in the race. About eight o'clock at night a hue and cry was raised that the ambassador's son and Mr. Abel were missing, and that they must be still on shore. After considerable bustle and suspense, however, they returned to their boats soon after midnight. It appeared that they had gone on board a large mandarin's boat, at the invitation of those on board, and could not get up to us until that late hour.

August 18.—Still hurrying on, a party of us went on shore, and walked for an hour and a half as fast as we could along the banks. The ground was hard and dry, and though followed by an immense crowd we found them civil and inoffensive in their conduct; they even procured plants for us when they perceived that we hunted for them. For the first time I saw some Chinese carts drawn by oxen, which were really very respectable in appearance, and would not have disgraced an European country. In the afternoon a second attempt was made to walk on the banks, but it proved so muddy and slippery from rain that the party soon returned. The military mandarin attached to our boat almost went down on his knees to dissuade us from going on shore. This mandarin of ours was a most original-looking person. We had lately been excessively amused by seeing him stripped completely to the waist (on account of the heat) and playing at

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the game of forfeits with the fingers, called *Tsooey-mooey* in China, and *morra* in Italy, where I have often witnessed it. The loser is obliged to drink a cup of wine; and when our friend had taken several cups, the silly glee that irradiated his vacant countenance was ludicrous in the extreme; the effect being much increased by the evident fact of his attributing our involuntary laughter to the poignancy of his own wit and humour.

This man was a proof of the immense distance that exists between the intellectual qualities, as well as the rank and estimation, of the civil and military mandarins. He wore a button or ball on his cap, equal in grade to that of the lower order of magistrates; but one of these would have been eternally disgraced by such company and such amusements as this animal (for he was nothing better) was addicted to. Physical strength and boldness, as well as some skill in military weapons, are the only qualities required from a military mandarin.

August 19.—The Chinese might or might not have the intention of starving us into compliance with their terms; but the fact was certain that the dearth of provisions had lately reached a serious length. The ambassador deputed myself and another to visit Chang Tajin on board his boat, and complain of the deficiency, desiring that we might be allowed to purchase an adequate supply. On reaching his barge we found that Chang was taking his afternoon siesta, and were therefore unwilling to disturb him; more especially as they informed us that the Taou-tae of the district was the proper person to apply to. This mandarin's boat was not far distant, and we accordingly repaired on board. When informed of the object of our visit, he stated, as an excuse, that being between two districts it was difficult to procure provisions just now, but that he would make inquiries. This appeared to be doing nothing, and we therefore returned to Chang, whom we found still asleep. As Dr. Morrison's boat was alongside, we

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stepped into that, and waited until Chang came in to us, when I gave him Lord Amherst's message. The reason he stated for the deficiency was our having been two days longer than was intended on our journey to Tung-chow; but he promised to procure some provisions for us immediately, and left us for that purpose. On his departure a military mandarin of enormous dimensions made his appearance, decorated with the peacock's feather. He asked a great many questions about the distance of our country, our connexion with the Russians, the size of our territory, and our neighbourhood in India to Thibet, where he had been. In return to our questions concerning the probable amount of the population of Peking, he could afford no correct information whatever. This man had lately been promoted by the emperor for some services which his zeal and activity, joined to his great personal strength, had enabled him to perform,—the very low state of the art of war in this country rendering a hero's thews and sinews as valuable to him as his brains, or perhaps more so. Our Chinese Ajax was a very brutal as well as stupid fellow, and worthy to rank with his prototype of the "seven-fold shield."

Chang Tajin, on his return, invited me on board his boat, and began to lament that he could procure no provisions for us just now. It seemed that nothing could be done until our arrival at Tung-chow, which was to take place on the following day. I ascertained that from Ta-koo, where we landed, to Tien-tsin, by water, is about 220 ly, and from Tien-tsin to Tung-chow about 380 ly,—in all 600, or 190 English miles.

August 20.—At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the increasing numbers of junks on the water, and of buildings on shore, gave notice of our approach to Tung-chow; and we soon came to an anchor as high up as the river, which is not navigable above this point, would permit. At half-past five some soldiers appeared drawn up on the left bank,

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and the usual salutes were fired. This place seems incalculably inferior to Tien-tsin, and the crowds were by no means remarkable. Soon after our arrival the ambassador and commissioners proceeded to visit Soo and Kwong Tajin; but this conference threw not the least light on our affairs. The mandarins made no mention of the two deputies, but proposed that the ambassador should go on shore for the sake of a few days' rest. Neither did they introduce the subject of the ceremony, probably seeing no prospect of altering the determination already made; but on Lord Amherst repeating that the precedent of Lord Macartney would be the rule of his conduct on this point, and reiterating the two conditions on either of which he would perform the ceremony, Kwong answered, like a true Chinese, that the fact of Lord Macartney *not* having performed the ceremony was by no means universally admitted. He urged, besides, that the mere circumstance of such high officers as Soo and himself being sent to meet us, disproved the notion of our country being considered as a dependent state. He once had the effrontery to hint that our duty to our sovereign need be no impediment to our performing the ceremony, because the ambassador on his return might make what report he pleased; but his lordship reminded this scrupulous gentleman that even supposing he could be capable of such an act of baseness, there were plenty of witnesses with him who would tell the truth. It is impossible, after this, to wonder at the necessity for sending Chinese mandarins to negotiate in pairs, on the principle of "setting a thief to watch a thief."

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CHAPTER V.

AUGUST 21.—In the morning the guard was drawn out on the little bridge, or *Ma-tow*, adjoining our boats, and the whole embassy went on shore with some state and ceremony, to view the place prepared for it. The *Koong kwân* stood about one hundred yards from our boats, and appeared to be generally appropriated to the use of officers of government. It was arranged that we should continue to sleep in our boats, but dine on shore. At about half past four we accordingly sat down comfortably at a table in the open air, under the projecting roof of the chief part of the building, which was supported by wooden pillars, and hung with lamps. The Chinese at first began to crowd in, and to be very troublesome, but two sentries were soon stationed to keep them out.

Chang Tajin, and another whom we called the Secretary, had come on our first landing merely to announce that the two new commissioners were arrived, and that the first of them was *Ho Koong-yay*, a mandarin of the highest order, and brother-in-law to the emperor, but not holding any official situation under the government; the second, *Moo Tajin*, president of the Board of Ceremonies. These commissioners, it was added, had only just arrived, and we might not see them until the next day. In the midst of dinner, however, it was announced that six imperial commissioners were coming—persons of such high rank, that *Chang*, who delivered the message, said that he could not sit in their presence!—This sounded extremely formidable, and it was right that we should be duly prepared for such "celestial colloquy sublime."

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His excellency accordingly adjourned to the hall of audience with a portion of his suite, and, on the arrival of our visitors in the court, the second and third commissioners went some steps forward to receive them. We all stood aghast, however, when this half-dozen of savages rushed past without so much as a look, and proceeding to seize the six highest places, seated themselves down at once. The ambassador, on the other hand, completely out-manœuvred them by taking the principal seat at the other end of the room, while we ranged ourselves on his left and right.

They began, after a pause, by asking in a haughty tone who was the ambassador?—and, on being informed, declared that they were come to speak about the ceremony, which the envoy was expected to perform to-morrow before the emperor's shrine. His excellency replied, with at least equal haughtiness, that he had not the least intention to confer with them on the subject, but should postpone it until he saw the imperial commissioners. They at first pretended not to understand, and added that the ceremonies of the Celestial Empire were of high importance. On his lordship's answer being reiterated in a still louder tone, they bounced up and strutted out of the room in a style quite τραγικωτερον.*

We kept our seats in the mean while, and when the surprise of so grotesque a piece of diplomacy had passed off, made ourselves merry at the expense of these "lads of Mougden," as they were ever afterwards called, who had evidently been sent for the express purpose of trying to effect something by bullying. Any compliance under present circumstances seemed impossible; but there still remained some chance of the emperor accepting our terms, and these fellows were perhaps sent merely to gain time. On the other hand, it might be the case, that determined to dismiss us if we did not comply, the imperial commis-

* Like the dignity of tragedy, the mock heroic.—Ed.

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sioners were unwilling to receive the ambassador's final refusal in person, and tried the above experiment as a last resort.

Nothing but the greatest ignorance of the character of Europeans could have led the Chinese to hazard such an attempt as the one above detailed. Herein consists much of their weakness in negotiation; they are too proud to learn any thing about us, while we foreigners of course never lose an opportunity of studying them in every relation of life, and have availed ourselves to some purpose of the opportunities (scanty as these may have comparatively been) which years of intercourse afforded us. That "power" which consists in "knowledge," therefore, preponderates on our side. We know, above all, that the most complete want of faith, the most unblushing perfidy, is one part of the Chinese system in their negotiations with strangers; and unless this be carefully kept in view during the existing crisis, they may play us some sad tricks.*

Chang and Yin made their appearance in the evening, for the purpose of begging that the ambassador and two commissioners, at least, would sleep in the allotted dwelling on shore, as they had reported the same to the emperor, and would be accused of falsehood did his lordship pass the night on board;—"for," said they, "the emperor has very long ears." We were of course too polite, and had too sincere a respect for his majesty, to dispute the application of this asinine attribute. The ambassador replied that he had never made them any promise of sleeping at all on shore at this place, and indeed could not possibly do so that night, as none of his furniture was out of the boats; but agreed to accede to their wishes so far as to sleep on shore the following night. With this they were satisfied, and expressed their gratitude very strongly.

His lordship now took occasion to complain of the

* Written in 1841.—ED.

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unmannerly conduct of the "six lads of Mougden." Chang and Yin, however, laughed it off in the usual Chinese style, and said they had not understood the respect due to the ambassador. The matter was upon the whole considered as too absurd to deserve much being said about it, and the mandarins soon after walked with our party down to the boats, whither we were proceeding to pass the night.

August 22.—This morning Chang and Yin gave notice that the *Duke* (as we had surnamed Ho Koong-yay) was coming, accompanied by another commissioner. Afterwards, however, they announced that it was the wish of these persons that the ambassador should proceed to the city to see them. When it was demanded on our part if we should be required to practise the ceremony, assurances were given that nothing of the kind was in contemplation, and that the audience was to be of a merely private nature. The next inquiry was as to the mode of conveyance; and when they replied that horses and tilted carts should be provided, but that so near to Peking it was not allowable to go in chairs, his lordship declared that he could not think of going in anything *except* a chair. The comparative facility with which they yielded this point, joined to the fact of chairs having been subsequently used by the embassy even to the precincts of the emperor's palace, proved the effrontery of the objection. Five chairs were obtained; while the remainder of the party proceeded either on horseback, or in the carriages of the country,—not precisely the same as those manufactured in Long-acre.

It rained violently for some time before we started, and when there appeared to be no prospect of its abatement, we set out at one o'clock, the guard and band being left behind, on account of the wetness of the weather. The first part of our course lay through a very bad road leading to the city, the chair-bearers sinking occasionally up to their knees in puddles, and the sharp wheels of the little tilted carts cutting deeper into the ruts, already deep enough.

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Those who were in the latter vehicles were so shaken that they all agreed they should not soon forget it. After proceeding about a mile and a half we reached the city gates, and were much struck by the appearance of the walls, in height about thirty feet, and very well built of blue brick. They were, however, old and evidently in decay; but would still make a good defence against an enemy armed, like the Chinese, with bows and arrows, or matchlocks. We passed through two gateways, the one lying behind the other, as the wall was doubled in this place for the sake of greater security. No guns were to be seen, except three or four without carriages,* and of a rude cast, lying near the gate.

The town is built upon a part of the immense flat which extends from Peking eastward to the sea, the piles of salt at Tien-tsin being really the highest hills we had met with since our landing. The appearance of the town's interior miserably disappointed us, the streets being very narrow, paved only here and there, and more rough and muddy than the road. The shops were all built open, as in most Asiatic towns, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter, which must here be intense. I thought I could perceive, *en passant*, something very like a flayed cat hanging by the heels! After such specimens of gastronomic taste, it really became a matter of some consequence to exercise a vigilant and cautious inspection over the provisions supplied to the embassy on the part of his Chinese majesty.

On our arrival at the place of audience (a mean, dirty-looking house, with the roof overgrown by grass), his excellency found the two imperial commissioners prepared to receive him without chairs, and all parties remained standing during the audience. This sufficiently showed the disposition of the duke;

* There is reason to think that the Chinese allow these guns to lie about the gates, as the starving Romans threw loaves of bread into the camp of the Gauls,—to make people believe they are *spare guns*. We saw few or none on the walls.

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but as he purchased the ambassador's standing at the expense of his *own*, it did not so much signify. He began, in a very loud and disturbed voice, by saying that the ceremonies of the Celestial Empire were indispensable, and that what Lord Macartney had done (even admitting that the prostrations were dispensed with in his case) was to form no part of the question. That, since some of us had read their books, we must know that there is "but one sun in the heavens, and but one emperor on earth;"* that he was lord of Great Britain and of all other countries; and, in short, that if we did not perform the prostration, we must be sent back. He accompanied this last flourish with a very magnificent wave of the arm, while his lips quivered with rage.

The ambassador repeated, with the utmost temper, all that he had before so often said to Soo and Kwong Tajin, and concluded by drawing from under his robe a letter which he had prepared and addressed to the emperor, full of expressions of respect for his majesty, and of the satisfaction he should have in doing anything to please him, consistently with his duty to his own sovereign. This took Duke Ho completely by surprise: he merely remarked that the letter was sealed, and asked if it was the ambassador's signet. No objection was made to forwarding it, and he became on a sudden more civil in his manner, accompanying his excellency as far as the door on his return. The letter was calculated to have a good effect on the emperor's mind, if it ever reached him, and might afford him a pretext by its respectful tenor for complying with our terms. And even admitting that it did not prevail on his majesty to receive us without the prostration, it might insure to the embassy civil treatment on its return, and allow us to part pretty

* He probably alluded to an incident in the history of the Soong dynasty. The Chinese emperor being taken prisoner by the Tartars, with his principal minister, the latter exclaimed, "Heaven cannot have two suns, nor earth two emperors;" and so saying killed himself in despair.

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good friends. Our vicinity to the court insured the reception of an early reply, if the letter was forwarded; and at all events a speedy decision of the event, whatever that might prove.

August 24.—A message was received early in the morning that the letter, being superscribed merely "from the English Ambassador," without having his name appended, the mandarins had not ventured to deliver it, as all anonymous addresses to the sovereign were prohibited! They had, moreover, taken the liberty to open it, and a proposal was made that a few immaterial alterations should take place in the wording of the address, and that, his excellency's name being added, the letter should be forwarded unsealed. As there appeared to be no objection to this proposition it was agreed to, and another copy was prepared; the mandarins being at the same time informed, that if they took it upon themselves to keep back a document of such importance, when formally delivered to them for transmission, they made themselves responsible for the failure of the mission, and all consequences. Chang Tajin stated that he expected soon to receive instructions to leave us, in order to make inquiries after the ships; and this (which at the same time was probably a mere *ruse*) apparently argued a disposition to reject our terms.

The same mandarin brought the copy of a paper, professing to exhibit in detail the manner in which the embassy was to be received by the emperor, should we consent to submit to the prostration. This programme far surpassed all the anticipations that could have been formed of the degrading nature of the exhibition in the emperor's presence; and it is surprising that they should have let us see it while the subject was under discussion, as it was only calculated to increase the determination that had already been made not to submit to their insulting treatment. Nothing in the ceremony of Lord Macartney's reception had in any degree approached to the humiliations

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that were detailed in this document, from which the following are extracts:—

"When the officers around his majesty's person have proclaimed the word Pien (*whip!*), the band shall strike up the tune Che-ping (*a subjugating sway*). It shall next be proclaimed, 'Advance and kneel!' The ambassador and suite shall all advance and kneel. The crier shall proclaim, 'Bow the head to the ground and arise!' The ambassador and suite shall then, looking towards the upper end of the palace, perform the *san kwei kew-kow* (ceremony of thrice kneeling, and nine times bowing the head to the ground). This being ended, the music shall stop. The princes and royal personages, who are permitted to sit, shall conduct the ambassador and suite to the western side (the *right*, or least honourable side), where they shall perform the ceremony of kneeling and bowing to the ground once, and then sit down.

"His majesty shall then have tea introduced; the princes, the ambassador and suite shall kneel and bow the head to the ground once; after his majesty has drunk tea they shall return to their seats.

"The attending officer shall then confer on all who sit in the palace *nae-cha* (milk tea), for which all shall again perform the prostration once; after drinking the tea they shall also perform it.

"The immediate attendants on his majesty shall then proclaim the word *Pien* (whip!), and the princes, ambassador and suite shall rise up; the same word shall next be thrice proclaimed below the steps, and the band shall strike up the tune *Hien-ping* (subjugation manifested), during which his majesty shall withdraw to the inner apartment, and the music shall stop."

Another document was produced, purporting to be a copy of the record made by the *Ly-poo*, or "Board of Rites," of the performance of the Tartar prostration before the late emperor, by Lord Macartney. The

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present emperor was declared to state that he himself witnessed its performance before his father at the time! As his majesty was determined to be so "splendidè mendax," there was no help for it; but the difficulty and embarrassment of contending against the ceremony were thereby considerably increased.

I now began to feel a great degree of indifference as to whether we advanced or returned. In proceeding to the court, we should certainly be hurried off as ungraciously, at least, as all other foreign embassies; while, if we returned, it would be impossible for the court of Peking to conceal the occasion of our return, viz., our refusal to do homage as vassals and dependents,—and this, as far as it went, was a positive advantage. I laid little stress on the apprehension of those who thought that the consequent ill-will of the emperor might have a prejudicial effect on our trade at Canton. The trade would support itself by its own merits, and by its importance to that province; and I was as much as ever convinced that the mere complacent feeling of the court of Peking was of less real importance to the welfare of the trade, than the vindication of our national independence in the eyes of the Canton government, with which we are immediately concerned. This view of the case, however, was of course grounded on the presupposition (or rather experience) of the utter impossibility, by any means of submission whatever, of effecting good, or of establishing a permanent channel of direct intercourse with Peking.

A very improper message was brought in the same forenoon by Chang from his superiors, stating that private information had been obtained through an *E-Kwan*, or "barbarian officer" of Macao, that a large portion of the embassy consisted of persons who had been engaged in trade; that the second commissioner had amassed an immense fortune, and possessed a fine house and gardens at Macao; and that he had *purchased* his situation, to which he had no proper title! There was no difficulty in tracing this

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tissue of absurdities and misrepresentations to the kind exertions of the Portuguese at Macao, who for nearly two hundred years have been the inflexible enemies of British interests in China; not by the open use of power and authority (which they never possessed), but by secrecy and falsehood, the usual resources of the weak and timid.

At the same time it was deemed absolutely necessary to stop anything of this kind at the commencement. The message looked so like a personal attack on the commissioner, that any appearance of acquiescence, or of backwardness in repelling it, might have emboldened the Chinese to more serious acts of annoyance. Lord Amherst accordingly sent word that whoever had been appointed by the government of Great Britain to the different situations in the embassy must be considered as the most proper and fit persons to fill them; and his excellency desired, at the same time, that he might have no more messages on that subject.

From the known unfriendliness of the government, as well as from the evident coolness of our first reception, it was to be inferred that this species of underplot had been for some time in operation, though not brought forward until the present moment. The local government of Canton had been alarmed by the sudden appearance of the embassy on the coast, in little more than a year after the conclusion of some very serious discussions, in which the firmness of the select committee had foiled the attempts at encroachment and oppression on the part of the viceroy. There could be no doubt whatever that every exertion had been made by that officer, through his connexions at Peking, to frustrate the success of the embassy; and to this must be attributed the fruitless results of the mission, fully as much as to the difficulties of the ceremony.

Chang was informed that the letters for the ships of his majesty's squadron would be prepared immediately to be forwarded to their destination, and he was at

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the same time requested to state to his superiors that, should the emperor be determined not to receive the ambassador, his excellency wished to spend no more time at this place, but begged to be allowed to depart as soon as possible. In the evening the letters for the squadron were delivered to the Chinese. It was reported to us that the emperor's letter to the British court was in course of preparation; but this might possibly have been a mere invention to shake the resolution of the ambassador.

Some of our party went in the afternoon to look out for horses to ride; but soon discovered that strict directions had been given to every person in the neighbourhood not to lend us any, under the pretence of their being liable to punishment should any accident happen. This disagreeable species of tutelage would have been rendered much more unbearable had the horses in question been really of a description to be coveted; but the miserable little ponies in this part of the country were precisely like those at Canton, and therefore easily dispensed with.

Riding being out of the question, we were obliged to be contented with a walk, and accordingly proceeded to look at the mat houses intended for the reception of the presents. They were about half a mile from our place of residence, and proved to be very spacious. The facility and cheapness with which the Chinese erect these immense mat warehouses is remarkable. The admirable manner in which the use of the bamboo combines lightness with strength renders it a most valuable resource to this ingenious and industrious people. Their temporary theatres, their halls of reception on public occasions, and their warehouses for storing goods, are erected of these mats at a few hours' notice, and serve equally well to exclude the heat and the rain. They can be built of almost any height or breadth required, on account of the extreme lightness of the materials. Not a nail is used in their construction, nor even a cord; but the thin strips of the bamboo bind every part together in

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a perfect manner; and, when the end of their erection has been answered, they are taken down and carried away with equal ease and despatch.

I found great advantage in the constant facilities which our situation afforded for conversing in the court, or mandarin, dialect. The only persons at Canton who use or understand it are the mandarins themselves, and a few other individuals of superior education; but here the commonest porter uses no other language. It is remarkable that almost every province (most of them as large as first-class European kingdoms) has its own peculiar dialect. Of these the most exclusive, and the farthest removed from the mandarin standard, is the pronunciation of Fokien, which remained longer separated from the rest of the empire, by maintaining its independence against the Manchow Tartars after the other provinces had submitted. One of the missionaries commenced a Dictionary of the Fokien dialect, which has never been completed; but enough was printed to show its chief peculiarities, and assist any learner in his efforts to acquire it.

August 25.—It was understood this morning that the presents for the emperor would probably be received at all events, whatever might be the result as to the reception or rejection of the embassy. This appeared to be in every respect a desirable arrangement, as it would enable us to part with the Chinese court under some semblance of good will. The presents, too, were so bulky and numerous, that their transport to Canton must be attended with vast trouble and expense.

In the course of to-day was received the copy of a paper, purporting to be the report of the Canton viceroy to the emperor, on the subject of the second commissioner's appointment as coadjutor to the ambassador. The reason stated for this was "his acquaintance with the ceremonies" of the Chinese court. Credit was given to the British government for their judicious *respectful* conduct, and it was remarked, at the

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same time, that the notice forwarded by the second commissioner of his departure from Canton to join the embassy was circumspect and respectful. A remark occurred in the same document, that Sir George was not the only foreigner who understood Chinese, but that several others who had accompanied him (mentioning their names) were also versed in the language. It was moreover observed that some apprehension might be entertained lest the second commissioner and his associates should "combine with traitorous natives" to do some political mischief, and that care must be taken to prevent such wicked combination. By way of putting their precepts into practice, it appeared that the military commandant of the district had been ordered to double the "army of observation" round our temporary dwelling.

There was something so annoying as well as insulting in this mode of treatment, that a determination was formed by his lordship and the commissioners to put an end to the state of suspense in which we had now passed a number of days, by writing formally to Duke Ho, and desiring to know whether it was the emperor's pleasure that we should advance or return.

After allowing everything for the jealous fears of the Tartar-Chinese government, it seemed quite absurd that a few Englishmen, sent on a complimentary embassy, should require all the surveillance to which we had been subjected to prevent their revolutionising the empire. The real explanation of the proceeding was, the wish and the attempt to effect that by intimidation which had failed by other means. The dark hints, and the "sparsæ voces in vulgum ambiguæ," concerning the second commissioner, had even led some persons to suppose that the government might go so far as to make a personal attack upon him; but the prevailing caution of the Chinese *generally* (for the late proceedings of Commissioner Lin at Canton prove that it is not always the case) leads them to avoid anything beyond threats and demonstrations.

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August 26.—Conformably with the resolution of the previous evening, Lord Amherst requested me to prepare a note in Chinese from himself to the chief imperial commissioner, intimating that, as he had not communicated the British ambassador's address to the emperor, his lordship conceived that he had no further business at Tung-chow, and accordingly, to use the diplomatic phrase of Europe, "requested his passports." I proceeded with Mr. Hayne, the private secretary, to acquaint Chang Tajin that we were commissioned by the ambassador to convey the note formally to Duke Ho, and accordingly requested him to inform the Duke of our coming. He replied, *à la Chinoise*, that he could not do this without knowing the contents of the packet; but, when his lordship gave a peremptory refusal to this improper request, he said he would communicate our message, and let us know before we set out.

On the arrival of his messenger we proceeded on horseback, according to previous stipulation, attended by our English servants. It may be observed that not above one or two Chinese were at present to be found in the personal service of the embassy. My own Chinese had all been deterred by fear from quitting the province of Canton, and I should have suffered some inconvenience had not Lord Amherst's kindness placed one of his own English servants at my disposal. On reaching the *miaou*, or temple, which formed the temporary residence of the mandarins, we were shown into a small ante-room where some well-dressed mandarins were seated. I intimated our wish to see Chang Tajin, and on his entrance informed him that, being commissioned merely to see the note safe to its destination, it was not material that we should have an audience of Duke Ho. The packet was accordingly handed in due form to one of the mandarins there assembled, and an answer was returned, before we took our leave, that Ho would communicate shortly with the ambassador.

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In the evening a civil message came from him to say that he should be glad to see the ambassador in a friendly way on the following day, if his excellency would pay him a visit. An answer was returned through Chang Tajin, accepting the invitation; and it was added that the ambassador would be attended by the two commissioners, his son, and three other gentlemen. There was a complete alteration in the style of the duke's message, when compared with his recent behaviour to us. He seemed to have discovered that the bullying system would not answer, and was perhaps disposed to try what a contrary plan might effect.

This great change in the tone of Duke Ho led, in fact, to the serious discussion of the question, whether, in the event of a handsome reception on the morrow, it might or might not be allowable to make some relaxation in terms, and even consent to the performance of the ceremony itself, on its being guaranteed by Ho Koong-yay that some of those important points of negotiation which formed the object of the mission should be conceded to us at Peking. His excellency and the third commissioner entertained views as to the affirmative of this proposition—Sir George Staunton continued to hold the opinion that our national dignity and independence would be best maintained by refusing to perform the Tartar prostration, and that no ill consequences to the East India Company's interests at Canton need be apprehended from such refusal.*

* Subsequent experience fully confirmed the correctness of this.

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CHAPTER VI.

AUGUST 27.—Chairs were in waiting by an early hour, and at ten o'clock *Chang* and *Yin Tajin* came to accompany us to the residence of Duke *Ho*. The party consisted of seven, being the ambassador and his son, the two commissioners, Messrs. Hayne, Morrison, and myself. The temple which formed the Duke's residence was not more than a quarter of a mile from our *koong-kwân*, and on reaching it we passed through a number of open courts in the usual Chinese style, until we arrived at that where Ho and his three principal associates were assembled, with a great number of other mandarins. The place of meeting was almost in the open air, an arrangement which very well suited the season of the year.

Chairs being placed for us, we took our seats in a row on one side, while the four Chinese commissioners sat in order on the other. Chang and Yin *stood behind* the chairs, and among those who attended in the same respectful posture we were glad to see our old friends, the "six lads of Mougden," who had only a few days before scarcely condescended to look at us! This power of occasionally adapting themselves to circumstances with the best grace in the world, is a distinguishing feature in the Chinese character, and of great use to them in business.

The conversation with the mandarins began by some general questions from Duke *Ho*, relative to the number of months that had been spent on the voyage, &c., being willing, perhaps, to remind us how far we had come—a very common argument with them when they wish to carry a point by persuasion. The subject of the ceremony was then introduced, and de-

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bated with great temper by *Ho Koong-yay*, who now could hardly be identified with the vociferous and insolent Tartar that only five days ago had "vomited forth" his wrath and pride against us within the town of *Tung-chow*—"Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!" Still he did not hesitate to repeat the superiority of the Chinese emperor over every foreign sovereign, and the consequent propriety of our compliance.

In the intervals of the conversation, Duke Ho paid particular attention to the ambassador's son, and calling him to his seat presented him with purses, fans, and other trifles suited to a boy of his age. There was Chinese policy in this, absurd as it may seem, and only proved the low estimate which the Chinese generally entertain of European intellects and feelings, to suppose for a moment that they could be influenced in such a way to swerve from any points of policy or duty.

Ho Koong-yay at length gave a hint that, in the event of compliance, we should certainly not be without an equivalent advantage in negotiation, and that he himself would stand our friend with the emperor; and it was finally determined to go back and for the last time to deliberate if it were possible to perform the Tartar ceremony on these terms. The Chinese upon this became all that is most gracious; we were ushered to our chairs with an incumbrance of ceremony; while the six lads of Mougden accompanied us to even an *outer* gate, profuse of bows, and smiling uncouthly. I awaited with the utmost anxiety the result of the impending deliberation.

Both the ambassador and third commissioner declared their readiness to perform the ceremony on the terms proposed by Duke Ho, provided that their remaining colleague concurred in its expediency; but they at the same time called on him to deliver his own opinion definitively, and stated that they were resolved to abide by it, as the dictate of personal knowledge and local experience. Being thus placed in a somewhat difficult and delicate positior

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the second commissioner thought it right to give a final corroboration to his own sentiments by referring (with the ambassador's consent) to those among us who had passed some time with him at Canton. He found us, I believe, unanimous in the main. For my own part, I merely persisted in what I had often expressed to him before, and the short answer which I gave was grounded on such reasonings as have already been stated.

It was at length decided that Duke Ho should be informed for the last time that the prostration *could not* be performed by us; and the ambassador wrote a civil but firm note, thanking Ho for his polite reception in the morning, but declaring that, after mature deliberation, he had come to the conclusion of its being impossible to perform any other ceremony than the one already proposed, namely, three genuflexions on one knee and nine inclinations of the head. When this note had been translated and written out, it was duly signed and sealed by his excellency, and the private secretary then joined me in proceeding on horseback to the Duke's residence, where we handed it formally to the mandarins.

It must be observed that, immediately after our return from the morning audience, a very large supply of provisions had been at once brought to our residence, and an unusual bustle made by the Chinese preparatory to unloading the presents; while Chang at the same time brought word that Duke Ho was coming forthwith to visit the ambassador. The intention of all this obviously was to take it for granted that his lordship had accepted the Duke's terms, and that we were ready to proceed at once to Peking and "knock head." The ambassador requested me instantly to stop this indecent haste, and to tell Chang Tajin that, until his final determination in writing had reached Duke Ho, he could not speak to him on business, though he would gladly receive him on a mere visit of ceremony.

A very short time after my return from the duke's

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residence his approach was announced. This appeared strange, as he had barely had time to read the note: however, in he came, radiant with smiles, and proposed that we should set off for Peking on the morrow! The ambassador asked him if he had received the letter just sent; and, on his replying in the affirmative, it was demanded if he had perfectly understood the contents? He replied that he had understood them fully. The natural conclusion from all this was, that the performance of the ceremony on our part was dispensed with, but that Duke Ho could not bring himself to express so great a concession in direct terms. The question, however, was pressed upon him, and it was explicitly demanded whether the ceremony proffered by us was sufficient to satisfy the emperor. This was answered by a nod of the head, an abundance of smiles, and a declaration that the emperor was extremely *kwân*, or enlarged and indulgent in his disposition towards us.

After this it was not easy to decline the proposed journey. When the Koong-yay had ended his visit, Kwong remained for the purpose of pressing our departure by daylight to-morrow; but this his excellency declared to be quite impossible, although he stated his willingness to proceed as soon as we could in the course of the day. That mandarin distinctly stated, in return to the interrogatories of his lordship and the commissioners, that the Tartar ceremony would be dispensed with in our favour. During the course of the same evening Chang and Yin came and sat at tea with us in a friendly way, making arrangements for the journey on the following day.

August 28.—Great exertions were made in the morning to leave Tung-chow as early as possible, after a delayed residence of eight days from our first arrival. The baggage and presents were sent off first, and at about half-past four in the afternoon our party set out, being determined not to leave the *impedimenta* behind, as had been the case in coming up the Peiho. As the two officers of the guard and myself were to

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ride, I had requested the mandarins overnight to let us be supplied with tolerable horses; but when these were produced they turned out to be in a state of utter impossibility. I walked over to Kwong, and remonstrated with him, upon which he affected not to know that the animals were so bad. Chang Tajin then kindly offered me his own horse, saying that he should go in his chair; and I gladly accepted it, as, though bad enough, this beast was greatly superior to the former tender.

The Chinese breed of horses is confessedly one of the very worst, and the same may be said of all their domestic quadrupeds, excepting pigs and asses. Being kept alive on the smallest possible quantity of sustenance, they naturally degenerate in size; but the pig is the great save-all, and as he lives upon refuse he pays well for his keep about the house or cottage; while the ass likewise thrives upon what would starve a horse or cow. I seldom or never saw any donkeys in the south, but near Peking we remarked that they were a particularly fine variety, and perhaps might account for the goodness of the mules, which are also a superior breed.

There was something diverting in the exclamation of despair with which the ambassador's London coachman viewed the four Chinese Bucephali that were presented to him for the purpose of being harnessed to the carriage. He had prepared everything with as much care and pains as for a birthday at St. James's, —the horses only were wanting; and when they appeared in the shape of four small rough ponies, he naturally cried out—"Lord, sir, these *cats* will never do!" "But they *must* do!" was the reply, for nothing better existed in the whole empire. The collars of the English harness hung down like mandarin necklaces, and the whole of the caparison sat like a loose gown. By dint of "taking in" to an extent that had never been foreseen or provided for, this unworthy team were (no doubt very much to their own surprise) attached to the handsome barouche

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that was destined to roll on the granite road between Tung-chow and Peking. An English carriage should never be sent to China without the horses to draw it. In our progress towards the great "northern capital" (the literal meaning of *Pĕ-king*) we first of all proceeded to the same gate of Tung-chow that we had entered on the occasion of the earliest conference with Duke Ho. Leaving this now upon our right without entering it, we skirted the high walls of the town, which were lined with spectators, and soon came to a broad road of hewn granite, which was evidently very old, and in so ruined a state that it might have been referred to the days of *Yaou* and *Shun*. This road, or rather causeway over the low flats, extended to the gates of Peking; and though the ambassador's carriage certainly did get on by dint of the coachman's steadiness and skill, its strength and springs were greatly tried by the formidable cavities which the wheels occasionally encountered, and which gave it the motion of a ship in a heavy cross sea.

A stone bridge of three arches, at the distance of rather more than a mile from Tung-chow, crossed the Peiho, or a river running into it, in this place a very inconsiderable stream. From the centre of this bridge I reconnaitered the country round. Behind us was Tung-chow, with its conspicuous pagoda, or Budhist steeple, and encircled by its high and embattled wall. On each side lay a flat country, studded here and there with woody clumps enclosing the low dwelling-houses of the Chinese, which are surrounded mostly by walls, and consist of houses of all ranks, from the mansion of the high official magnate to the country-box of the Peking cockney. Before us, to the north-west, lay the imperial city, the residence of the absolute monarch of a third of the human race. It is situated very nearly under the fortieth parallel of north latitude, in common with Naples and Madrid in Europe, and Philadelphia in North America, which last it resembles in climate.

Peking has been the fixed capital of China ever

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since the reign of Yoonglŏ, of the *Ming* race, by whom the Mongols were expelled. Although situated on the northern confines of China Proper, it is centrical with reference to the whole empire, including Tartary. The tract in which it stands is sandy and barren, but the Grand Canal is admirably adapted to the purpose of feeding its vast population with the produce of more fertile provinces and districts. The most ancient portion of Peking is that area to the north which is now called the Tartar city, or city of *nine gates*, the actual number of its entrances. To the south is another enclosure, less strictly guarded, as it does not contain, like the other, the emperor's residence. The whole circumference of the two combined is not less than twenty-five miles within the walls, and independently of suburbs. A very large portion of the centre of the northern city is occupied and monopolized by the emperor with his palaces, gardens, &c., which are surrounded by their own wall, and form what is called "the prohibited city."

What Rome was to Europe, Peking is, or has been, to the larger portion of Asia, especially when it became the seat of Zenghis and Coblai Khan, the masters of the eastern world. While the territory of Rome, however, has degenerated into the few square leagues that constitute the patrimony of St. Peter, Peking maintains the greater portion of its ancient sovereignty in an integral state. The former city has shrunk into a corner of the area comprised by its ancient wall; while Peking has doubled its original extent, within a *new* and additional wall, and possesses considerable suburbs without the walls. It was naturally with feelings of considerable interest that we approached this singular place.

At the distance of about six miles from Tung-chow our cavalcade, which like most large bodies moved slowly, halted, as it was beginning to grow dark, for refreshment. The place at which we alighted was for all the world just like the stable-yard of an inn, and the knight of La Mancha himself would never

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have taken it for a castle. On a table in the middle of this yard stood a most uninviting repast, which some of our party very properly denominated "a mess of broken victuals." The principal part of the entertainment consisted of half-plucked, untrussed fowls in a boiled state, and altogether so nasty that few, if any, of our party could be induced to touch them; and there was plenty of water to be had in wooden buckets. What seemed to make this unseemly treat the more inexcusable was the fact that two of our principal conductors were with us, and therefore could not plead ignorance of its nature. Some of the Chinese, however, had such elevated notions of English refinement, that they supposed, or at least said, that it was in conformity with "the customs of our country."

As the Kinchae stated that we could not arrive at Yuenmingyuen before the next morning, I felt no desire to pass the whole night in the saddle, and exchanged my horse for one of the wretched little Chinese tilted carts. But we had not proceeded half a mile before I had abundant reason to regret the choice, for the convulsive throes of this primitive machine, without springs, on the ruined granite road, produced an effect little short of lingering death; and the only remedy was to get out as often as possible and walk. Our expectations had been raised by Kwong's assurance, that the gates of Peking would be kept open beyond the usual hour for our reception; and when we had passed on for about half an hour through a handsome suburb, containing shops whose fronts were richly carved and gilded, we actually reached the eastern gate towards midnight. But what was the disappointment and indignation of the whole party when the cavalcade, instead of entering the gate, turned sharp round to the right, and began skirting the city wall on the outside!

I was excessively irritated at this moment by the obtrusive curiosity of the people, who had provided themselves with multitudes of little paper lanterns,

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some of which were thrust forward very unceremoniously towards our persons. I was at length obliged to seize one or two of these, and put them out, after which the annoyance in some degree ceased. The crowd, as might be expected, were by no means so orderly as at Tien-tsin, but partook of the licentious and blackguard character of the rabble of a great capital. The soldiers, however, treated them very cavalierly, and made good use of their staves, whips, and sheathed swords—

> "With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
> Stout crab-tree and old iron rang."

After a tedious passage round the north side of Peking, we reached one of the western gates, and came upon the high road to *Yuenmingyuen*. The distance was quite inconsiderable, but our average progress was a foot pace, and day began to dawn before we had attained our destination. During the darkness I and several others were separated from the ambassador and commissioners; but after a wretched night we were glad to find ourselves about daybreak at *Hae-tien*, close to *Yuenmingyuen*, in the extensive range of buildings intended for our residence.

August 29.—On issuing from my Scythian plaustrum, more dead than alive, I found two of the gentlemen of the embassy pacing up and down in the open court or enclosure before the building, while a number of mandarins were staring at them. Some of these at length showed us the range of apartments destined for us, and tired with the night's journey, we threw ourselves down to sleep, as it happened, in the ambassador's room. We were presently, however, awakened by the arrival of his lordship, accompanied by a number of the suite, and listened with surprise to the history of their most unexpected adventures at the emperor's palace.

It had evidently been the intention of the mandarins to separate as many of the party as possible from the ambassador and the commissioners, in order to

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effect what now, for the first time, appeared to be the object of hurrying us forward during the whole night. The carriage was conducted beyond Hae-tien to the immediate vicinity of the imperial residence, and, as soon as it stopped (which was before five o'clock in the morning), Kwong Tajin made his appearance and requested the inmates to alight. The ambassador naturally desired to be conducted to his hotel or lodging, but, to the astonishment of all the English assembled, several of whom had by this time collected round the carriage, the mandarins very earnestly urged their immediately proceeding, for a short time, to a conference with Duke Ho.

The party then were conducted to an apartment on the other side of the court before which the carriage had stopped. Here the whole truth broke upon them at once. From the great number of mandarins in their full dresses of ceremony, including princes of the blood, wearing their circular badges, it became evident that this was the moment of an imperial audience; and that the ambassador and commissioners had been inveigled by the most unworthy artifices, and the most indecent haste, to be carried before the emperor in their present unprepared state. They were presently informed that his majesty had changed the day of audience from to-morrow to this day, and that Duke Ho was waiting to conduct them at once into his presence!

The ambassador pleaded that, without his credentials, and the letter he was charged with from his sovereign, this was impossible; requesting at the same time that it might be stated he was ill from the effects of the journey, and required some rest. Duke Ho presently appeared in person, and urged his lordship to proceed direct to the emperor, who was waiting to give him audience. It was in vain that every argument was repeated; the Duke's earnestness only seemed to increase with opposition, until he at length forgot himself so far as to gripe his lordship's arm violently, while one of the lads of Mougden stepped

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up at the same time. The ambassador immediately shook them off, and behaved with great dignity and composure at this trying moment; telling the officer of the guard, who, like Gregory in the play, seemed inclined to "remember his swashing blow," that no swords must be drawn. The highest indignation was naturally expressed, and a fixed determination to proceed to no audience in such a manner. The party at length retired, with the appearance of an understanding that the audience should take place on the morrow, as before agreed upon. The emperor's physician was soon after despatched to see his excellency.

The crowd of mandarins had in the mean while displayed a very indifferent specimen of their court breeding by crowding upon the English party, and examining their persons and dress with the most unceremonious curiosity; and another strange scene took place as the ambassador was quitting the room, for when the crowd of idlers, spurred on by their inquisitiveness, pressed on in such a manner as to impede the doorway, Duke Ho snatched a whip, with which he belaboured them handsomely on all sides. The courtly apanage (some of them with yellow girdles) dispersed like a flock of sheep. When his excellency reached our intended dwelling, they crowded in like manner into the large room, and peeped through the windows of his private apartment, making holes with their fingers in the coloured paper windows; but when the ambassador entreated some of our party to clear the place of these intruders, they fled out at the entrance the moment they perceived in what a summary mode the writ of ejectment was about to be served on them.

On first returning to us at Hae-tien, his excellency told us that he had successfully resisted the violent conduct of the Chinese, but it was impossible to say what they might do next. Shortly afterwards it was intimated to us by Chang that the emperor was in a towering passion, and that we were to go back directly

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to *Tung-chow*. This certainly was a barbarous, not to say brutal measure, considering that we had only just arrived from a most fatiguing night journey; but I was not altogether sorry to hear the announcement. Whatever might have been the opinion of one or two persons on the subject of the ceremony, there could be no difference of sentiment on the present occasion. The insult offered had been so gross, and so completely developed the disposition of the Peking court, as to make it evident that we were to expect nothing in the way of favours.

In the mean while a most elegant repast was served up by way of breakfast, consisting of the greatest delicacies, and some really fine grapes and other fruit laid out on porcelain of the richest description. This formed a singular contrast with our bait of the preceding night in the stable-yard, and the difference between our treatment, when *in* and *out* of favour, was remarkable. A mandarin from the "general of the nine gates" (a sort of prætorian prefect), came to hasten our departure, saying that "a million of men obeyed his orders."

When the baggage, of which very little had been unloaded, was ready, we set off on our return at four in the afternoon, nearly in the same manner we had come, except that the ambassador's carriage was given up to the sick, and chairs used instead. The daylight in the early part of our journey enabled us to take a good view of the lofty walls of Peking as we skirted them, and some of the party provided themselves with fragments of the blue bricks which compose it. When darkness came on our miseries commenced, and I may safely say that I never passed so wretched a night, except perhaps the one immediately preceding. We were rattled and jolted in a horrible manner along the old granite road, which was harder, if possible, than the emperor's heart. To be placed in one of these Chinese carts, and obliged to sit just over the axle-tree, without the intervention of a spring, was the next thing to being pounded in a mortar.

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We had scarcely the alternative of a walk by the side of these "infernal machines," for it rained most violently soon after dark, and the road was inundated. Rather, however, than be shaken the whole way, I jumped out and attempted to walk or rather wade through the holes and puddles, which from the darkness were not easily avoided. Some of our party returned by the way they came, on the outside of the walls of Tung-chow; but my charioteer stopped at the gate until it was opened, and after driving through a considerable portion of the town, carried me out at another gate. Nothing was to be seen, for it was nearly dark, and the inhabitants were at rest. The day soon afterwards began to dawn, and at half-past four I reached our boats, where only a few of the party had arrived.

August 30.—One of the first arrivals was the ambassador's carriage with the invalids, which reached us in safety, though the poor men were the worse for the journey. His lordship and the commissioners did not appear until six o'clock. It was with gratification, rather than regret, that I observed the gates of our former *Koong-kwan*, or hotel, blocked up and barricaded with boards, as our boats were a far more comfortable residence, and we had inhabited the other only at the particular desire of the mandarins, and because the emperor "had very long ears." Our baggage at length began to drop in by degrees, and I was happy to make a change in my clothes after two such days and nights. It is most remarkable that the whole of the multitudinous list of articles came back, although some were unavoidably injured (as we ourselves were) by hand shaking, and others by the wet. Perhaps there is no country of Europe in which poor working people, pressed into the service at random, would have so scrupulously delivered up their respective charges after such a scrambling and hurried journey as that of the past night, during which most of them must have been left to themselves, without guards or surveillance of any kind.

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I had retired to rest very early, to compensate for two nights of unusual fatigue, but at ten o'clock was roused by a message from the ambassador, to say that the two imperial legates were in his boat at that late hour, and that they waited for me as the medium of communication. I accordingly found them both with his lordship, dejected and forlorn, but charged with some presents to our sovereign from their emperor, namely, a *joo-y*, or sceptre of good fortune, made from one large piece of jade, called by the Chinese *Yu*; a dozen of the purses which the emperor wears at his side; and some necklaces of large Chaou-choo, or "court beads."

These things were paltry enough with reference to their intrinsic value, but fully equal to the presents of the last embassy. In return, the mandarins produced a paper containing the names of a few things among our presents which the emperor desired to have, namely, the pictures of their majesties; four large maps, three of which were the United Kingdoms; and the books of engravings. It certainly was desirable that some parting exchange of this kind should be made, since we were to travel through the whole length of the empire as the guests of the government. After all that had passed, a natural feeling of soreness on both sides might have rendered our future intercourse with the mandarins extremely unpleasant, but for this peace-offering on their part.

The Kinchaes stated in the customary strain of Chinese assumption, that the reason for the exchange of presents was their emperor's wish that our king might not be *very angry* with us on our return; but his excellency told me to inform them that he had no apprehensions whatever of the displeasure of his sovereign, being quite conscious that he had done his duty throughout; and he took occasion to express his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had received from their government. The presents, it was added, were matters of no moment, and as the emperor desired to have them they might go to Peking.

The two legates endeavoured to throw all blan

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from themselves, as to being accessory to any ill-behaviour towards the ambassador, though they knew full well that we had good reason to complain of them both. His excellency had, in former interviews, been accustomed to offer his arm to the aged Soo Tajin when he rose to take leave, but on this occasion the old gentleman was allowed to make the best of his own way.

And here might be considered to have terminated the diplomatic part of our embassy, the *embrouillement* of which was due to the more than Machiavellian tortuosities and bad faith of that prince of Chinese jugglers, Duke Ho. It was highly satisfactory to us at a subsequent date, to learn from a sort of penitential manifesto, issued by the emperor, that Ho and his coadjutors were all of them handsomely punished for deceiving their sovereign, and causing all the mischief that had occurred. I have no doubt whatever, that the provincial government of Canton had largely bribed the Peking mandarins to prevent our obtaining any effectual access to the emperor. The embassy had principally arisen in the exactions and annoyances lately suffered by British subjects at Canton; and in forwarding the notice of our approach, the viceroy and his colleagues had doubtless done their best to frustrate the objects of our mission. The openness to bribery of the highest Chinese functionaries may partly be explained by the fact, that few or none of them possess hereditary patrimonies, and that most of the hangers-on of the court, in the shape of descendants or offsets of the imperial family, are maintained on meagre salaries and allowances. They therefore want the independence, as to circumstances, of an hereditary aristocracy possessing ample private fortunes. It is in this sense that we must understand the Chinese aphorism, "Integrity and justice are generally the companions of affluence and abundance:—the poor and the destitute conceive the idea of dishonesty."

The generally cautious and prudent character of the Chinese government might be considered to have

ensured the British embassy from anything *worse* than rudeness at the hands of the offended "son of heaven." Still they were within reach of the fangs of an absolute despot, while they ventured to dispute his supreme will; and an individual of the party overheard two Chinese very gravely asking each other, why the emperor did not cut off our heads for our disobedience? The following incident from their histories, describing the treatment of an ambassador, may perhaps show that the danger was not altogether imaginary.

About the middle of the tenth century of our era, and during the fifty years and more which succeeded the extinction of the Tâng dynasty, China was divided into five different states, more or less independent of each other. A certain envoy named Sunshing was sent from one of these to the state Chow. The king of Chow treated the ambassador at first with great attention, and gave him not only a banquet (like ours at Tien-tsin), but an audience besides. The envoy was plied with wine by the ministers, who wished to obtain from him the secrets and intentions of his own government; but, with all due reserve on these points, our accomplished Chinese Talleyrand confined himself to general expressions of civility and good-will.

When everything had failed, either the first lord of the treasury, or the foreign minister, said to this faithful envoy, "I have a royal message to communicate: his majesty confers death upon you!" On the receipt of this surprising intelligence, the ambassador neither changed countenance, nor manifested the least emotion; but composing his garments (as Cæsar did at the base of Pompey's statue), turned towards the south where his sovereign resided, and bowing low, exclaimed, "I cheerfully endure death to serve my country." The history adds that upwards of a hundred persons, his official attendants, were put to death with him.

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CHAPTER VII.

As preparations were rapidly making for our departure to the south, I visited the legate with a commission from Lord Amherst to explain the necessity of arranging that the baggage and stores should accompany the progress of our boats. So little attention had hitherto been paid to this, that we suffered the utmost inconvenience, except at those intervals when the mission had been stationary. Had the supplies of the Chinese been of a fitting description, the subject would have deserved little notice; but as we had already been reduced to something very little better than starvation, it was fortunate that the embassy, to a certain extent, possessed the means of independence within itself.

The *Kinchae* fully concurred in what I said, and it required little persuasion to convince him that the less access we had to our own resources, the more we should have to draw upon his. It was therefore arranged that the junks laden with our *matériel* should not be separated from the passage-boats. Kwong Tajin then informed me, that he was commissioned by the emperor to accompany and conduct us all the way to Canton; but that our old friends Chang and Yin were only to go a part of the distance.

These two mandarins had conducted themselves upon the whole extremely well towards us. Chang, the civil functionary, had displayed occasionally something of the double dealing and the spirit of insincerity common to his class; but Yin, the soldier, was all frankness, and had particularly gained our good-will and confidence on the unfortunate morning at *Hae-tien*, when the rest deserted us. We had

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formed a pretty intimate acquaintance with both of them after a month's intercourse, and knew how to make allowances for the servants of such an autocrat as their emperor, whose single word was sufficient to consign them to death, in the event of any suspicion of a collusion with foreigners. It was therefore disagreeable to think that we must soon be separated from them, and consigned to the care of persons who (especially in our present untoward circumstances) might not prove such agreeable acquaintance. It was generally understood that both Soo and Kwong Tajin were to be degraded on account of the unfortunate results of the trip to Yuenmingyuen, and that the latter especially was to lose his lucrative office of salt-commissioner at *Tien-tsin*.

I went from the legate to inspect the actual arrangements on board the flotilla of junks, and then proceeded to the huge mat-sheds before noticed, in which were to be opened and examined the presents destined for the emperor, with a view to discern and repair, if possible, any damage before they were sent to Peking. The two legates attended for the purpose of inspecting the different articles. When their majesties' pictures were opened, it naturally occurred that, as the Chinese attach such sanctity to the imagined presence of their own sovereign, when represented by only a yellow screen, it would not be right to subject these more lively representations to the vulgar gaze. Before they were taken from the cases, the place was cleared of the crowd of Chinese assembled, and only the legates remained.

These two functionaries seemed sensibly nettled by a little unexpected incident, which tended to show them that *we* entertained an opinion of the greatness of our own sovereign fully equal to any ideas which *they* might have inspired in us regarding theirs. When the representations of British majesty were displayed, the whole party of English present, including the ambassador, made precisely the same obeisance with which they had consented to honour the

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yellow curtain of the Chinese emperor on the occasion of the late feast at *Tien-tsin*. On turning round, I observed Kwong looking as black as thunder, so completely had this ceremony discomposed his established notions of the universal supremacy of the great emperor. It might be well for Chinese assumption if lessons of this kind were more frequently taught it; and the increasing means of direct communication from the west seem calculated to multiply the opportunities.

September 1.—I to-day saw what I had before only read of in Chinese books, an itinerant fortune-teller and practitioner in medicine—something between a gipsy and a quack doctor. These impostors go about two or three together, one of them frequently blowing a cow's horn, like the respectable professors mentioned in Hudibras. A prescription of theirs is for the conjurer to hold a red hot ball in his mouth, and then drop the same into water, in which the patient is bathed. The warm ablution may be a good-enough remedy in some of the nasty diseases to which the Chinese are subject.

There are likewise witches, or female professors of the black art, who pretend to converse with the dead, and to give responses to their living kindred; but these Chinese Canidias are discouraged and forbidden by the government. Lighted sticks of incense are placed on a table before them, with sundry other idle forms; upon which they lay their faces on their hands, and mutter sentences as if conversing with the dead, whose answers they pretend to convey.

We left *Tung-chow* at noon, on the 2nd of September, and proceeded on our way back to *Tien-tsin*. I was not sorry to see our boats' heads turned from a place where we had suffered nothing but annoyance. It soon appeared quite plain that, with all the pretended liberality of the Chinese court, we should certainly run the chance of being starved unless we procured provisions for ourselves and our people. I understood from a Chinese that Kwong and his colleagues had been amerced by the emperor for the full amount of

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the expenses of the embassy during its stay in China! This could be no light matter, and the evident tendency was to put us upon short commons. The Chinese themselves say, "When the fire breaks out at the city gate, the fish in the moat are sufferers," —the water being taken to quench the fire—Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. We accordingly volunteered to purchase provisions for ourselves, a proposition which was received by our conductors with just so much "sweet reluctant amorous delay" as might serve to save appearances. Henceforward it became a regular system to supply ourselves to a considerable extent.

September 3.—This morning I saw a dead body floating by in a horrible state. The Chinese are very particular in giving sepulture to their own kindred; but when a poor devil has no relations to bury him, the public authorities appear to take little care to supply the want. I confess that it has always been my own experience to see as many corpses of grown persons as of children in this condition, which seems to militate against the notion that the children are generally instances of exposure on the part of the parents. They are more likely to be accidental cases of drowning, among the crowded population that lives upon the rivers. Infanticide certainly does exist, but the Chinese are generally too fond of their children to allow it to prevail to any great extent. With them the real cause is that destitution which springs from the excess of population beyond the means of subsistence—an excess which is fully accounted for by the undue encouragement given to increase. Juvenal tells us, that the same crime prevailed in his time, and was perpetrated by poison, but from a very different cause—the luxury and depravity of the Roman women—

> "Tune duos unâ, sævissima vipera, cœnâ,
> Tune duos?—septem, si septem fortè fuissent!"
>
> *Sat.* vi.

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I was not in the least surprised when Chang Tajin informed me that the whole business of alluring us from Tang-chow to the court was a trick of Duke Ho; and that it had never been intended to dispense with the Tartar prostration in any public audience whatever. The emperor was, in fact, kept in complete ignorance by Ho, who seems to have been fool enough to suppose, that after our arrival at Yuenmingyuen the ambassador might be cajoled or frightened into the performance of what he had so strenuously resolved not to perform. The emperor's resentment then arose, not from our refusal of the Tartar prostration (for of the refusal he was never apprised), but from the report of his excellency declining the audience on the plea of sickness, which it is probable his physician was sent to disprove. Now, the ambassador did not refuse the audience on the ground of permanent sickness, but on that of excessive fatigue; to which was to be added the impropriety of his attending the emperor on his first arrival from a night journey, without due and adequate preparation. The infamous conduct of Duke Ho, in enticing his excellency to the palace under false pretexts, would alone have been a very proper ground. A report prevailed that some of the court grandees, incensed at the proper resentment which was displayed by our party, when the unmannerly and indecent curiosity of these gentry became intolerable, had made a purposely unfavourable report to the emperor, and induced his majesty to believe that the ambassador's indisposition was not real, but a mere pretext for escaping the proposed audience. Under any circumstances, however, we had no great loss, for a reception at court like that which seems to have been intended was, perhaps, better avoided. There is no telling what any insult or violence offered in the emperor's presence might have led to.

It was at one time suggested, in consequence of the recent intelligence, that a letter should be written to the emperor, detailing the real circumstances of the

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case, in order that he might not remain under a delusion; but this advice was overruled, and it was decided that no letter at all should be sent, as the emperor might in consequence be inclined to send for us back, without any arrangement respecting the non-performance of the Tartar ceremony, by which means matters would be rendered much worse than they were at present.

Most of us were surprised by the extreme heat of the climate at so great a distance from the equator as forty degrees of north latitude. During the whole of our stay at Tung-chow the thermometer at noonday often stood at ninety degrees, while at night or towards morning it frequently fell to seventy or less, thus making a difference of twenty degrees in fourteen or fifteen hours. Under these circumstances it cannot be a very healthy climate. Many of our people were taken ill, and we buried one man at Tung-chow. The common Chinese either wore a single cotton shirt or went entirely bare to the waist; while the stores of sheepskin coats, and other skin garments in the shops, bore witness to the difference of their costume during the winter, which is here more severe than in England.

September 4.—Our boats anchored as soon as four o'clock in the afternoon, and did not move for the rest of the day. The slowness of our progress at present was evidently the result of design, as no natural obstacles whatever existed. It was strange that they should not be in a greater hurry to get rid of such expensive guests as we must be, for the mere pay of the boats in which we were conveyed was a serious matter, the number of persons engaged being estimated at three hundred and more. We could account for it only on two suppositions—either that they had some idea of getting us back to Peking, or were desirous of delaying our arrival at Tien-tsin, where the arrangements for our future progress were perhaps not completed. They are always extremely anxious to avoid the long residence of strangers in or near

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their large towns, either from a fear of their observations and notes, or the dread of disturbances with the natives.

The mandarin conductor of Lord Amherst's boat, who had somehow or other got the name among us of "Commodore Ko," exhibited several of his gymnastic exercises for our amusement. He desired one of the party to make a blow at his face, and then, turning it aside, ran in and seized his antagonist by the leg to upset him. In the mean while he was at the mercy of the left hand. The importance which the Chinese attach to bodily strength and dexterity in their military officers proves the low state of the art of war among them. This mandarin of ours was a fat and good-natured fellow, of about forty, who had raised himself in our estimation by continuing the same civil and respectful behaviour since the rejection of the embassy as before, and by persisting in his daily attention and good offices unchanged.

Happening to sneeze violently, he, laughing, exclaimed, "Somebody is talking of me!" Many superstitions are in China attached to the act of sneezing, in common with other countries. The Chinese generally consider it lucky, and imagine that it denotes "good fortune, and a profitable undertaking." They have rules of divination which they practise in reference to sneezing, the twinkling of the eyelid, &c. So in Italy, if any one sneezes in a carriage, the coachman will turn round, touch his hat, and say, "Felicitá!" These foolish observances are a pretty sure proof of the general ignorance of the people among whom they prevail, whether Asiatic or European.

Ignorance and conceit were perhaps never more strongly combined than in a certain civil mandarin of high rank, who had accompanied our progress thus far from Tung-chow. His office was *ganchăsze*, or criminal judge of Peking, and his pretensions those of universal knowledge. Without condescending to ask any questions about our country he proceeded to

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inform us that England was a region of Europe, extremely weak by land, though powerful at sea, and entirely dependent on commerce. He then proceeded to expatiate on the homage due to the supreme majesty of China, and must have had a high notion of the moderation and forbearance of his auditors, or, if he did not intend to offend them, a very overweening estimate of the relative superiority of himself and his country. It is likely that the latter was the real state of the case.

On the morning of the 6th an extraordinary fall of more than twenty-five degrees occurred in the thermometer, which was now reduced below sixty of Fahrenheit, much to our comfort. In the Chinese boats the extreme heat of the sun was particularly annoying, until this welcome change took place, as their flat roofs are easily heated through. This favourable weather afforded a number of our party the opportunity of exercising themselves on shore, when the boats came to an anchor rather early in the day. A friendly visit from Chang Tajin served to pass a portion of the afternoon. We showed him our books, and he was much taken with the portrait of Wan Tajin, one of the conductors of Lord Macartney's embassy.

Chang informed us that he was to accompany us to the adjoining province of Shantung, but no further; and added, that the judge who vaunted his European knowledge was to quit us there also. We could well dispense with the latter gentleman; but Chang, and his military colleague Yin, had acquired our good opinion so far as to make us wish for their continued offices, and regret the transfer of their functions to other hands. Chang expressed himself warmly in the praise of Englishmen, and admired (he told us) their integrity and sincerity. The Chinese certainly have the *names* of these virtues, but, to use a phrase of their own—"the names only and not the reality," —*yew ming, woo shĕ*.

Sept. 6.—We reached our old anchoring place

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at Tien-tsin soon after mid-day. The curiosity of the people in this populous place seemed yet unsatisfied with gazing at us, for the crowds assembled on the shore were not less than on our last visit. So dense was the mass of the populace, that it was thought most prudent to confine our walk on land, in this place, to a large square space which was cleared by the soldiers. It was here that I paid particular attention to two of those columns supported by tortoises, which have excited the attention of travellers, and are of a monumental and religious nature. The famous Emperor Fohy is said to have taken his mystical numbers from the figures on the back shell of the tortoise, which is still used by the Chinese in their divination, called *Po*. The tortoise, the dragon, the *kelin*, and the *foonghûang* (of which the three last are fabulous), constitute a list of mystical animals to which they constantly refer in their literature, and to which allusions are frequently made in their sculpture and drawings. To kill a tortoise is supposed to be extremely unlucky, and certain to bring misfortune upon the perpetrator. In the "Book of Rewards and Punishments," it is related that a certain person, who discovered a number of tortoises, killed them and made a profit by their shells. His body was in consequence covered with sores, and when he got into a bath, by way of a remedy, it suddenly assumed the form of a tortoise, and the patient soon afterwards died in great agony. The tortoise-shell used at Canton in various manufactures is all imported from abroad.

That quarter of the town of Tien-tsin which adjoined our boats possessed few features of interest. In lieu of shops the streets consisted in great measure of the dead walls in front of dwelling-houses, which are always secluded within an inner court; and nothing in an English town would more surprise a Chinese than the publicity of the rooms of dwelling-houses looking into a street. For the exclusion of noise and other annoyances, their plan is certainly the

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best; but it entails an immense sacrifice of space, which is still more aggravated by their houses being of only one story. When the Emperor *Kien-loong* saw a perspective view of a street in Paris or London, he observed that the territory must be very small whose inhabitants were obliged to pile their houses to the clouds. In the poem on London, by a Chinese visitor, it is stated,—

"The houses are so lofty that you may pluck the stars."

On the morning of the 7th September, there was some recurrence of complaints from the guard, and the men forming the band, that they were insufficiently supplied with food; and as these frequent alarms of impending starvation were not agreeable, a serious representation was made to our conductors, who promised that the supplies should be in future more regular. I endeavoured to take a walk in the suburbs; but the dirt of the street, and the pressure of the mob, soon forced me to turn back. On my return I met the son of Chang Tajin, a lad of eighteen, on board Sir George Staunton's boat, where he was paying a visit. When this was concluded, I accompanied him on board the boat of the third commissioner. He was very modest and silent, as befitted his age; but seemed to take a great fancy to some cherry brandy that was offered to him. The Chinese never like our wines, though any sweet liqueur they will generally take with relish. The French and German liqueurs were among the presents which the East India Company annually sent to Canton for the mandarins; and they also form an article of considerable trade at that place. A hermetically sealed Chinese bottle, curiously covered with yellow silk, and containing some unknown liquor, was kept as a great rarity for about a *quarter of a century*, by a gentleman in England. Curiosity at length prevailed so far as to lead to an examination of the contents, which proved to be some excellent Maraschino, which had been taken out to

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China, re-bottled by the natives, and sold to some Englishman as a Chinese production!

I could not help noting in this place an observation that had often struck me since our landing. On looking forward to accompanying an embassy to Peking from the neighbourhood of Canton, which lies at the immense distance of seventeen degrees (the difference between Edinburgh and Madrid), it was natural to expect a considerable disparity between China to the north and China to the south. What was our surprise, therefore, to find that there really exists scarcely the least dissimilarity in the character of the people, in their customs, in their dress, or in any single circumstance whatever! Even in their complexion, which might be expected to be considerably fairer to the northward, there was not a shade of difference; except, indeed, that the expectation of finding them lighter made us think them rather darker. It was not likely, after observing such perfect identity at the extremes, that we should find any variation in our progress through the centre of the country. Much, however, on various points was to be learned from actual inspection of their towns and their country; and the approaching journey was fraught with interest to all. I had unfortunately got a fellow attached to my boat who, though a military mandarin with a gold ball on his cap, could not write the character so well as myself, and whose general ignorance on every subject (beyond the use of his pipe and his bowl of rice) made it vain to hope for any information from him.

On the morning of the 8th September we left Tientsin, and commenced our journey to the southward. Instead of going any farther down the *Peiho* towards the sea, we turned to the right up a stream which falls into the Peiho, and leads to the Grand Canal. Having reached new ground, the voyage became extremely interesting. A large portion of the city of *Tien-tsin* is situated on the right bank of the river which we now entered, at its confluence with

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the Peiho. Some handsome buildings were pointed out, and among the rest the official residence of our legate conductor, when he was superintendent of the salt department at this place, but which he had now lost by the emperor's displeasure.

The suburbs were extensive and good, and continued above a couple of miles beyond the city, denoting this to be a most important and rich place, although not ranking as a regular city. The name of our river was *Nan-yun Ho*, or the "stream of southern communication," and appeared to have a *Paelow*, or consecrated gateway, inscribed to its honour on the bank. These ornamental structures are also called *Pae-fâng*, and consist sometimes of wood, but generally of stone, having one larger gateway in the middle, and two smaller ones at the sides. They are occasionally reared to the honour of the living, and sometimes to commemorate the dead. A native of Canton, who was famous as a statesman under the *Ming*, or Chinese dynasty, has a *Paelow* still remaining, inscribed, *Shing she chih chin*,—"an upright minister in flourishing times." The Tartars do not seem to have overthrown all these monuments of the native race of emperors.

The country now became extremely pretty, though perfectly flat. The neighbourhood of the great city which we had just left was laid out, along its whole level, in the garden style, and planted with vegetables of all kinds. We observed some handsome edifices of the sepulchral kind, which they told us were the tombs of priests. They were constructed of excellent brickwork, and had an urnlike shape, being narrower towards the bottom than the top, where they assumed the form of a bulb, and were surmounted with small balls. As the bodies of the Budhist priests are burnt after death, these probably contained their ashes, and the shape of a vase or urn was sufficiently appropriate.

Tien-tsin may shortly become a spot of deep interest to us in this country. It must be viewed as the first

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object of attack to any force which should make an attempt in the neighbourhood of the capital, and try the strength of Chinese troops in that quarter. Its vicinity to the sea, and its vast importance as the dépôt for grain and salt, render it extremely obnoxious to foreign invasion. The pertinacity of the Chinese court may perhaps prove more troublesome than was expected. A certain emperor is reported to have said, "I have a strong leaning to obstinate resistance. When I meet with a small nation that does not show profound respect, I never can suffer it; when I meet with a great nation that is encroaching and insulting, I cannot bear it patiently." But the real motive to resistance on the part of the present Tartar sovereign of China, will be the dread of diminishing, by submission, his influence and power over his own subjects.

Sept. 9.—We all of us received this morning some presents from our friend Chang Tajin. He sent me a coloured drawing on a roller, and a Chinese snuff-bottle; and though these were but trifles, I kept them as testimonies of goodwill. Chang was highly elated at his new promotion (of which we were only this day informed) to be *Gan-chă-sze*, or criminal judge of the province of Shantung. This was a very high office, and in the present instance said to be an introduction to something higher still. Chang had been raised in so sudden and marked a manner, that there was some ground for regarding the present embassy as the cause of his elevation.

It was probable that as he knew us on our first arrival, and had so much intercourse with us since, this mandarin had been able to form a juster estimate of our real character than any of the other functionaries, and that while Duke Ho and Kwong were sending up reports to Peking of the probability of our ultimate consent to perform the ceremony, he might have stated that, from his own observation of our character and intentions, there seemed little chance of it. Thus *truth* may for once have met with its reward, even in

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China, while Duke Ho and his colleague had been punished for misleading the emperor. Such a supposition derived strength from Chang's late behaviour to us, which since our rejection by the emperor had been rather more friendly and civil than before; and he often spoke of his admiration of the blunt integrity and straight-forwardness of the English character. It is certain that we shall always do ourselves more good in China by the uniform maintenance of such a character on all occasions, than by any other line of conduct that we could pursue. Our best aim is to acquire the respect of the Chinese, by acting in a manner diametrically opposite to themselves.

Chang Tajin came and sat with us at dinner, but did not seem much to relish our cookery. We congratulated him on his new titles and honours. The ease and good-breeding of the better sort of Chinese, when they are on friendly terms, is very striking, and by no means what might be expected from the rigid nature of their ceremonial observances. These, however, sit upon them much easier than might be imagined; and practice serves to render them less formal than the *programme* might lead one to believe. There is nothing in the whole Chinese ritual to equal the successive robings and unrobings, the genuflexions, bows, and crossings of a Roman Catholic bishop at high mass.

Our boatmen during the night used frequently to "keep a dreadful pother o'er our heads," and until we became accustomed to it, entirely spoiled our sleep. All their operations are conducted with uproar, and on the occurrence of difficulty or danger the noise and din of every kind exceeds belief. It is evident that this must greatly aggravate the effect of any disaster, as it is impossible for the voice of authority to be heard where every one screams at the pitch of his lungs. The contrast is great, after the perfect order and discipline that reign on board a British man-of-

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war, where, in exact proportion to the exigency, is the silent obedience to the voice of command.

I was sorry to observe that we were a source of great oppression and ill-usage to the poor trackers who drew our boats up against the stream. So large a number were required by us, that it was with great difficulty they could be collected, and there was reason to believe that the mandarins did not pay them very regularly. They seemed much disposed to rebel on this occasion; but the application of the bamboo to some of the most mutinous appeared to awe the others, and restored order. From the lowest of its subjects, who have nothing but their labour to give, the Chinese government frequently exacts personal service as the only means of available taxation.

Sept. 10.—We breakfasted this morning near *Tsing-kae Hien*, a considerable town, which is laid down in the Jesuits' map of China exactly under the parallel 39°. From Peking to this point, and indeed much farther on our way to the southward, not a stone was observable, so completely did the country consist of alluvial deposits. This is the tract which we have every reason to believe was once under water, and which became drained and cleared under the directions of the great Yu. It is possible that the Yellow River once flowed through some part of this immense level, and fell into the sea to the *north* of the Shantung promontory, instead of the *south*, as it does now. The vast quantity of mud in the Yellow Sea, or Gulf of Pechele, and its extreme shallowness, would seem to support such an opinion.

From the want of stone we observed that the cottages of the common people were here built of mud, but their condition was generally decent, and tolerably comfortable, with chimneys, which the winter climate of this region requires, but which are never seen near Canton. Even in the *kitchens* of Canton chimneys are not used (the general fuel for cookery being charcoal), but a sort of open brickwork at the sides

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of a raised roof. The tenements as we viewed them from our boats, generally appeared to be small, but industriously and neatly cultivated, and shaded with poplars or willows.

As Chang Tajin was soon to leave us, the ambassador and commissioners visited him on board his barge by special appointment. He sent his row-boat for the party, and his whole behaviour was of the most friendly and polite kind. Instead of taking the first seat, like the legate, he placed all his guests above him, receiving their congratulations on his late appointment very kindly. He pointed out with great apparent satisfaction his nomination to his new office in the Peking Gazette, and stated that he must return to court to be presented before he could enter on his functions as provincial judge. The antechamber of his own apartment was occupied by his clerks, busily engaged in writing.

We unfortunately stopped, about ten o'clock at night, near a spot where a number of soldiers with music were drawn up; and it was perhaps in celebration of Chang Tajin's new honours that they maintained a dismal squeaking, and disturbed our quiet. Of all burlesques upon harmony, the Chinese music is perhaps the most atrocious; every man would seem to be playing a different tune, or rather, making a different noise, and the predominance of the tones of the Scottish bagpipe does not lessen the evil by any means.

About noon on the 11th we were near the prettiest and most picturesque-looking building that I had ever seen in the country. It consisted of three stories, and the ground plan was hexagonal. The three projecting roofs of varnished tiles were of a rich massive construction, and the proportions of the whole extremely good. The purpose of the building was religious, and it was dedicated to the Chinese constellation *Kwei*, which is Cancer, and probably signifies the summer solstice. The effect of the building was much enhanced by picturesque clumps of weep-

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ing willows, of which the Chinese are very fond, and which they constantly allude to in their poetry. Willow charcoal forms one of the ingredients of their gunpowder.

Early in the afternoon we stopped at a walled town, constituting a city of the third class, and called *Tsinghien*. The suburbs adjoining our landing-place formed, with their shops, the best portions of the place, as we found on examination that the walls were dilapidated, and the interior falling into decay. The people here struck me as being much less civil than we had hitherto found them, and it was to be apprehended that in proportion as we proceeded southwards towards Canton, we should perceive increasing symptoms of that rude and insulting spirit which the mistaken policy of the local authorities has always encouraged towards Europeans.

On quitting *Tsinghien* we found the river assume a course so winding as occasionally to bring it back almost upon itself, forming in this manner a number of successive peninsulas.

Over the low flat fields we could frequently see sails on each side of us, and as the whole country was cultivated in the garden style with vegetables, the effect was very pleasing. The cultivators of the land in this country must certainly enjoy a sufficient degree of security to justify so much industry. In a certain Chinese poem, abounding in their usual antithetical style, the husbandmen are described as saying—

> "The sun comes forth and we work;
> The sun goes down and we rest:
> We dig a well, and can drink;
> We plough a field, and can eat.
> What is the emperor's majesty to us?"

A party of us went ashore with the ambassador, and walked for an hour and a half followed by a considerable crowd, who were kept in very good order by the soldiers in our train.

I was shown some additional programmes, in

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Chinese, of ceremonies and forms which would have accompanied our reception at the court of Peking. If we were to consider these as actual plans of reception, it certainly was a fortunate circumstance that we had escaped such profitless humiliations; for they presented the most degrading pictures that could possibly have been devised, and were more insulting by far than even the reception of the Dutch. It was reasonable, however, to suppose that these papers were mere state documents, not intended so much to be acted on as to be preserved on the records for appearance sake. It is quite certain that no English envoy could ever be brought to undergo one-tenth part of the abominations which enter into the details of these formulæ.

On the night of the 12th we stopped late at a city of the second order, called *Tsang-chow;* but the hour being so advanced, it was impossible to inspect it, and we left the place early on the following morning. I had reason to suspect that, in some instances, this plan was purposely adopted by the Chinese, in order to prevent our entering and examining the places; but happily for us this illiberal policy of theirs could not very often be put in execution, as we were often unavoidably stopped for days at considerable cities, and had a full view of them.

I employed some of my leisure time in reading and making Chinese copies of several programmes of the "entertainments" which were to have followed the "audience," had the embassy been received at court. These were all of them in the same style of intolerable assumption as the document already quoted at page 72, and removed the last remaining feeling of regret at having quitted Peking as we did.

On the 13th we passed above a hundred sail of grain junks, all of them numbered and classed in divisions. The country through which we were now travelling was extremely low and flat, and I observed that, in the Chinese maps, the whole distance in a direct line to the sea-coast was little more than a

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blank; not less than sixty miles in extent. Its natural state was probably one great salt marsh. Between *Tsang-chow* and the village of *Chuen-ho* was an artificial opening in the bank of the river, bounded by two stone piers, the object of which was to drain off any superfluous water into the sea.

The weather in the middle of September continued so hot during the course of the day as to render it impossible to take exercise except in the morning or evening. The average height of the glass at noon was about 80° in the shade. On the 14th I was called away from a visit to another barge of our embassy, by *Chang Tajin* sending his own row-boat, with a request that I would join him and the third commissioner, and communicate between them. The visit from Châng was intended as a take-leave, a day or two hence being fixed for his return to the emperor (now at the palace of *Zĕ-ho* in Tartary), in order to return thanks for his appointment as judge of Shantung. That mandarin afterwards came on board our dinner-boat, when the ambassador expressed his regret at the prospect of losing so kind and attentive a conductor.

In the afternoon we reached a city named *Nan-pe-Hien*, and found a concourse of people scarcely inferior in number to that seen at Tien-tsin. The intense curiosity which we excited had nearly proved fatal to many; for when the boats stopped, a large number of persons stationed on the top of a mud wall were suddenly precipitated towards the river by the crumbling of the wall beneath their weight. Two or three of the Chinese soldiers, who were standing on it, and who fell with the rest, were excessively enraged, and began pelting the rabble and driving them back with lumps of clay and showers of dust. The wall being low, it was fortunate that nobody was hurt, but a large portion of the crowd were nearly smothered in the ruins.

We were here, and very frequently afterwards, witnesses to a strange military evolution on the part of the guard which was assembled to honour the embassy or its conductors. On the opposite side of the river

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was arranged a long rank of soldiers in new dresses, and among the rest some of the tiger-coloured regiment, whom we had named "the monsters of the guard." As soon as the boats came up, the whole line fell upon their knees, and uttered a dismal shout, or rather howl. They partly reminded us of the kneeling of the troops in some Roman Catholic countries, at the word of command, upon particular religious occasions; but the howl was an addition.

Sir George Staunton obtained from Chang Tajin a copy of the Peking Gazette, containing the emperor's observations on the subject of our rejection. Upon the whole, this appeared to be a clever stroke of policy on the part of his majesty, by which he had got very well out of a disagreeable scrape. In a paper of this kind, which was to be read by the whole empire, the most awkward point was the fact that any persons should have declined to perform the Tartar prostration; and this, accordingly, was passed over with the least possible allusion to it. The whole blame of our hasty dismissal was thrown on the chief imperial commissioners who had been appointed to conduct us.

The paper commenced by observing that, as we *could not* (as if from some natural inability) perform the prostration at Tien-tsin, it was wrong in the two legates to take us any further. It then stated, in regard to Duke Ho, that he had kept the emperor in ignorance of the real truth, while we were at Tung-chow, telling him we were practising the ceremony while we were doing nothing of the kind. But the greatest offence laid to the charge of Duke Ho was this: that on the instant of the ambassador's arrival at Yuenmingyuen, and his declining to proceed to an audience that morning without due preparation, Ho had carried several disrespectful messages to the emperor, stating that his excellency and the gentlemen with him pleaded sickness, instead of the real and proper excuse, their want of appropriate dresses for the audience.

The emperor declared that had this objection been

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stated to him at the time, he should instantly have acquiesced in its propriety, and have "recompensed the good-will which brought the envoys to him from the distance of ten thousand* ly." He blamed the persons of high rank who were standing by in such numbers for not setting Duke Ho right by their advice. The sincerity of the emperor in this public paper had been amply evinced by the severe punishment of the offending mandarin or noble, who was disgraced and deprived of all his offices. More could scarcely be done in the way of an amende, short of the return of our embassy to Peking, which the present advanced state of the journey and the unsettled question of the ceremony rendered next to impossible.

The document, inasmuch as it was a public notification that the emperor was sorry for what had passed, was a very good supplement to the exchange of presents at Tung-chow, and placed our affairs on the best footing that they now admitted of. On this paper a suggestion was grounded by Dr. Morrison to forward an address to the emperor, containing a list of the requisitions that *would have been made* had we been received; but the advice was properly overruled, for if all concurred in the opinion that these propositions would probably have been refused (most of them, if not all), had we succeeded in obtaining an audience, the chances of rejection were infinitely multiplied under present circumstances.

Chang Tajin had proposed to Lord Amherst that he should visit the loquacious judge already mentioned, previous to the departure of that mandarin for the court; but his excellency naturally declined paying the first visit where that was evidently due to himself. It was then arranged that a meeting should take place in Chang's boat; and, accordingly, when we stopped for the night at a place called *Lien-tsun*

* His majesty greatly understated the distance, which was nearer *fifty thousand.*

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(a little to the south of *Tongkwan Hien*), the ambassador and third commissioner proceeded to the appointment. The judge talked, as usual, a great deal, and in a very tiresome manner. When the conversation turned to the reign of Kânghy, and the refusal of the Russian ambassador to perform the prostration without some equivalent in return, the judge declared that the Chinese mandarin who was authorized by Kânghy to go through the ceremony in return was a mandarin of only the fifth order, and that he prostrated himself before an altar, whereon was placed a picture or symbol of the *Tienchu* (lord of heaven), or god of the Christians, and *not* the Russian sovereign. This sufficiently proved that the prostration is not a mere ceremony, but a mark of homage to a superior.

The judge, in reply to an offer from the ambassador, said that he could not venture, under existing circumstances, to accept any presents from us, but that on the following morning he would beg our acceptance of some from himself in the shape of provisions. They accordingly made their appearance next day, and displayed the ingenuity of our loquacious friend in reconciling his liberality with the strictest principles of economy; for the exact amount of his pretended gift was deducted from our regular supply.

About noon on the 16th our attention was excited by two large and rudely-sculptured figures of horses, which I went on shore to examine. They stood at the distance of about a dozen paces apart, and facing each other. In height they exactly corresponded to the common Chinese horse, but were terribly out of proportion in every part; and their legs, in particular, looked as if they were grievously afflicted with elephantiasis. I guessed at once that they were sepúlchral, and had reference to some one buried near the place. In the play of 'An Heir in Old Age,' some one asks, "Where are the tigers and the goats of stone?"—alluding to the tombs.

At night we reached a considerable village called

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Sâng-yuen, or "the mulberry garden," which is just on the limits of *Pechele* and *Shantûng* provinces, where a considerable change was to be made in our establishment of conductors and attendants. The revenue and disbursements of every province being strictly confined within its own limits, the expenses of our public mission became the care of a new set of officers, as soon as ever we passed from one into another. These Chinese provinces (of which there are eighteen) surpass the size of many of the most powerful European kingdoms. Shantûng, on which we were now entering, exceeds in square miles both England and Scotland combined; and another, Sze-chuen, is considerably larger than France. Their population is still greater in proportion.

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CHAPTER VIII.

We remained a day at our anchorage upon entering the province of Shantûng, in order to complete the new arrangements. The three mandarin attendants on the boats of the ambassador and commissioners, "Commodore *Ko*," and his associates, *Wong* and *New*, this day took their leaves, and had no reason to complain of their services being slighted, as they were liberally rewarded, and expressed themselves very grateful. These three men, though they wore buttons on their caps, and were military officers of an inferior rank, had never been admitted by us to any higher footing than a sort of upper servants, as their manners were coarse and illiterate. The very inferior consideration of military, as compared with civil mandarins, is purely Chinese, and appears, under Tartar despotism, as a singular anomaly; so completely has Confucius retained, or rather recovered his ascendancy since the Manchow conquest. The effect of this on the military spirit and habits of the Tartars must naturally be debilitating.

On the 18th we recommenced our journey towards the canal. The low flat country through which we had hitherto journeyed all the way from Peking, at this autumnal season, had proved very unhealthy to many of our number, and I myself was at last laid up in all the luxury of a severe tertian. It must surely have been after a fit of the ague that Milton wrote his description of the regions where

> "——— all the damn'd
> Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change
> Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce."

The country still continued its uniformly flat ap-

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pearance, but we were soon to perceive an alteration at the point where the Chă-ho, "the river of flood-gates,"—that is, the CANAL, commences its course through a region where the inequalities of surface render those artificial aids necessary. I could already observe a difference of dialect as we advanced to the southward, the pure *Kwân-hwa*, or "mandarin dialect" of Peking being gradually corrupted by provincial changes.

When we stopped in the evening at a city of the second order, by name *Tĕ-chow*, a great display of soldiers, with much firing of salutes, took place; and while our band were playing as usual in the front of the dinner-boat, two or three mandarins came up and listened with pleasure to the music. The ambassador, seeing them in the crowd, invited them to walk in, upon which they first retired and arrayed themselves in their ceremonial habits,—a trait of respectful consideration which was to be received at its full value in China. One of these offered his snuff-bottle as a present to Lord Amherst, who thereupon returned the gift with one which he held in his hand, manufactured in England of cut glass, with a gold spoon, to imitate the shape and style of the Chinese bottles.

Everything appeared to wear a more prosperous and wealthy aspect as we advanced into the province of *Shantûng*, and upon the whole a marked improvement took place generally as we proceeded southward. It was hereabouts that we first observed the military police, who form so large a portion of the estimated force of the country. They wore upon the breast and back of their upper coats a round white badge, on which was inscribed in black, "robustious* citizens"—*min chwâng*—just as the word *yoong*, "valour," is affixed to the more regular troops. In this manner, while some may be born strong and valiant, others have strength and valour "thrust upon them."

* The word is used by Shakspeare—"a robustious, periwig-pated fellow."

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It was not until the 22nd of September that we reached *Lin-tsing-chow*, where the canal commences. About noon on that day we passed a pagoda of nine stories (*paoută*), in a perfect state of repair; the first that I had ever seen in actual occupation. The ground plan was octagonal, and round each story was inscribed in large characters *O-me-to-fŏ (Amita Budha)*, being the constant invocation of the Budhist priests. Several of our party went on shore to inspect it. Like all such edifices, it was erected in honour of the relics of Fŏ, the worship of relics being a part of their idolatry; and the date of the pagoda was since the completion of the Grand Canal. Its good condition was therefore probably owing to imperial or public endowment. A winding stair, of nearly two hundred steps, conducts to the top, the height of which was estimated to be something under one hundred and fifty feet. The basement we observed to be excellently built of a sort of granite, and all the rest of a glazed brick, beautifully joined and cemented. Only two idols of the Budhist sect were discovered in it; one of these occupied a niche in the lowest, and the other in the highest story. From the top of the pagoda a very extensive and beautiful view was obtained of the surrounding country, including the city of *Lin-tsing-chow* at its feet, full of gardens and cultivated ground, interspersed with buildings.

While the Budhists have so many well-supported establishments in China, the followers of Confucius (the sect of the learned) have their separate temples, in which the emperor himself and the officers of government are the exclusively privileged hierophants; and the third sect, that of *Laoukeun*, is likewise supported by a portion of the population in this "voluntary system," though not to the extent of the other two. The most perfect freedom of profession is allowed to any sect or religion whatever, that does not presume to meddle with the authority of the government and the peace of society; and the perfect resemblance of the Roman Catholic worship to the rites

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of Budhism would have insured its progress in China, had its promoters not violated these wise and wholesome conditions. Among the three prevailing systems of China, so little does there exist of mutual hostility or controversy, that many individuals might be found of the class of the people who would be puzzled to decide to which of the three they exclusively belonged. Many of them worship in all temples, and their polytheism is on the most extended scale.

It would be difficult to find any system of religious persuasion in the whole world whose precepts and doctrine did not contain within them *something* of good, however mixed up with error, or even mischief. Before embarking on the Grand Canal on our way to Canton, we may take occasion of the delay to review the moral sentiments of one out of the three Chinese sects—the one, in fact, of which the most meagre and undetailed accounts have reached Europe.

The followers of Confucius may be called the Stoics of China; those of Fo, or Budha, are the Pythagoreans; and the disciples of *Laoukeun* are the Epicureans of that country. Of the last-named sect the general tenets have been fully described in a former work.* They teach men, in short, to banish every vehement desire, and to repress every passion ("the gales of life"—as Pope calls them) capable of troubling the tranquillity of the mind. The business of every man, according to "the doctors of reason," should be to live without care; and in order to arrive at this happy state of repose, they are exhorted to put away every retrospect of the past, and to avoid all vain and useless speculations concerning the future. Laoukeun advises his followers to be moderate in their wishes, and temperate in their means of attainment, regarding nothing as a real good that is to be purchased at the expense of disquietude and anxious pains.

Professor Julien, of Paris, has translated in full de-

* 'Chinese,' ch. xv.

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tail one of the principal writings of the above sect, called the 'Book of Rewards and Punishments,' a small selection from which it will be sufficient to give in this place. Each sentence or text is illustrated by one or more short histories or examples, which serve to show the notions of the Chinese generally on the subject of morals; since they are not confined strictly and exclusively to the particular tenets of the sect in question. The dissemination of this, and of other religious or moral books of the kind, is considered to be an act of merit, which entitles the doer to have his most favourite wishes accomplished. When an impression is exhausted, those with whom the wooden stereotypes are lodged open a subscription which is soon filled. Some contribute money, others supply paper, while those who understand or practise printing will take charge of that operation *gratis*. At the end of M. Julien's edition is a list of one hundred and forty-two pious persons who combined for the publication, in proportion to their means and fortune. The immediate motive of each act is generally stated; as one, to bring about the cure of a parent; another, to obtain a son; a third to gain literary promotion, &c. The moral instruction of the 'Book of Rewards and Punishments' is conveyed in short stories or apologues, from which the few following are selected:—

Deceive not your heart in the secrecy of your dwelling.

A certain person lived at *Hwae-yang*, where he exercised the business of a trader. A friend of his, who was a salt merchant of *Shensy*, being compelled by sudden business to return to his own province, deposited in his care a sum of one thousand ounces of silver, and took his departure. Three years having passed away without his hearing anything of the owner, this honest man put away the money in a place of security, and despatched an emissary into Shensy to find out the fate of his acquaintance. The salt merchant was dead, and had left an only son, who was

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altogether ignorant of the deposit which had been made by his father. The guardian of the money sent for him, and pointing to a flower vase which held the thousand ounces of silver, "The contents of that," said he, "belong to you. They were left in my charge by your father." The son at first would not accept them; but when the other insisted on his assuming his rights, the young man bowed to the ground, and taking the treasure departed to his home.

In reward for his honesty, this good man had a son who became elevated to the rank of first minister of state. His grandsons were presidents of the supreme tribunals and members of the Hânlin College.

Practise filial piety.

Sia-yoong was gifted with this virtue to an eminent degree, but lived in extreme poverty. He one day dreamed that his father had fallen dangerously ill, and proceeded with all haste on a journey to see him. As he was passing a forest by night, a tiger came across the middle of his path. "I hurry," he exclaimed, without a moment's delay, "to take care of my father, who is dangerously sick. Let the tiger devour me if he will; I shall proceed without fear." The beast turned round, dropped his tail, and departed quietly.

Having reached his father's dwelling, he found him almost without consciousness; but at the sight of his son he recovered and said, "Son, did you not meet a tiger in your way? I dreamed just now, that having gone to an audience of the magistrate, I saw some stranger, who told me, 'It was a part of your destiny to die very shortly; but the rare piety of your son has reached to heaven, and a tiger whom he met on his journey abstained from injuring him. Your age will be prolonged twelve years from this day.'"*

* This illustrates what has been stated in the 'Chinese,' that the reward of parents for the merits of their children is a part of the moral and political system of the country.

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Rescue those who are in danger.

A certain merchant had attained to middle age without the good fortune of possessing children; and, to add to his chagrin, a skilful physiognomist said to him, "In a few months from this time a dangerous accident will happen to you." Our merchant, who knew of old that this practitioner had an extraordinary skill in his art, packed up all his goods and proceeded hastily towards his home.

In the course of his journey by water he saw a woman throw herself into the river with her child. He immediately called some fishermen, and promised them twenty ounces of silver if they would save these two from drowning; the men thereupon flew to their succour and drew them out of the water. Having paid these men the promised sum, the merchant turned to the woman and asked the reason of her throwing herself into the river. "My husband," she replied, "is a day-labourer. We had fattened a pig, which he carried to sale yesterday, but returned home without perceiving that he had been paid in bad money. His anger was turned against myself, and he scolded and beat me. We have now nothing left us to buy food." When he had heard her story, the merchant gave her twice the value of her pig, and sent her home.

The woman, on her return, related her adventure to her husband, who would hardly believe her. However, he proceeded with his wife to see the merchant and thank him. They arrived at his lodging after he was retired to rest. Having knocked at the door, the woman cried out, telling him who they were; and the merchant went out from his apartment to see them. No sooner had he quitted his room than the wall and roof fell in, and crushed the bed on which he had been lying! The man and his wife returned home full of surprise and admiration at this occurrence.

The merchant went forthwith to present himself to the man of destinies, who, when he had observed

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him, exclaimed—" I perceive you have just escaped an imminent danger; but more—you have entitled yourself to unlooked-for good fortune: you will have no further occasion to bewail your want of offspring." It so turned out that the merchant obtained an heir, who afterwards attained to high distinction and office.

Restrain the evil and exalt the good.

Tsehien having given an entertainment to his friends, one of his servants purloined some articles of silver. His master had observed the theft from behind a bamboo trellis, but abstained from convicting him. *Tsehien* soon afterwards became promoted to the grade of minister, and all those who had served him faithfully obtained appointments of value; while the individual before mentioned remained without employ.

" It is long," said he, " that I have served your lordship; why then do I suffer this disgrace?"

" Do you remember," replied Tsehien, " that you robbed me of several articles of silver? I have been long silent regarding your offence, and never divulged it to any one. But now it is my business to 'restrain the evil and advance the good.' How could I give the aid of my countenance and credit to one who, like yourself, has committed a theft? But in pity to you, and in consideration of your former services, I give you three hundred taels.* Take them and begone!"

The man was seized with alarm, and shed abundance of tears. He fell at the feet of *Tsehien*, thanked him, and departed.

* M. Julien seems to have taken the word *Tsien* in the sense of the nominal sum, equal to *one hundred* copper *Tsien*, while it really means the copper *Tsien* themselves (often called *Tchen*), which constitute the only coin of China. It was possible that the master might give the worth of three hundred ounces of silver to his servant, but not *one hundred times* that sum, equal to £10,000.

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Be faithful in service.

Towards the end of the Mongol dynasty, a certain inhabitant of *Tongquan* placed himself at the head of a party of insurgents. *Hochin* levied troops to put him down, and promised to his soldiers that he would give ten thousand ounces of silver to him who brought the rebel leader bound into his presence. In consequence of this notice a slave of the insurgent chief brought his own master bound, and placed him in the power of *Hochin*. The latter gave him the reward he sought; but, at the same time, ordering a cauldron of boiling water to be placed on a car, he caused the slave who had betrayed his master to be thrown into it. Thus the car was paraded among the people, while a crier warned them not to imitate this servant who had betrayed his master, that they might not share his punishment.

Forget your resentments.

Under the *Ming* dynasty, a man of *Shang-hae*, by name *Chang-koong*, had been exiled to the frontier to perform military service. He was placed under a chief who had charge of an important pass; but one of the inferior officers took an aversion to him on account of his love of reading. "Slave that you are," exclaimed he, "what have you to do with reading like your superiors?" In this manner he continued to treat him with a tyrannical harshness.

Chang-koong subsequently obtained his release, and in consequence of his learning obtained, after a course of years, the grade of doctor, and at length became promoted to the criminal tribunal. His former cruel oppressor having been accused of malversation in the department of supplies, was carried before the criminal court to be tried. When he perceived *Chang-koong* he was seized with a mortal fright; but the latter spoke to him with kindness, and desired him to explain his case. He was at length enabled to give

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the prisoner his liberty. This trait of generosity and greatness of mind in *Chang-koong* was in conformity with that precept of Confucius, which says "Render good for evil—*Pih-y* and *Shot-sy* always forgot their old grudges, and had therefore few enemies."

Treat not errors as if they were crimes.

Shunjin was governor of a city of the second order. Having observed that the public prison was very full of people, he recommended it to the criminal judge to release them, after having applied to each a punishment proportioned to their offences. "These men," said the judge, "are mostly traders who have defrauded their customers—if you set them at liberty they will repeat the offence." "But what is to be done with them?" inquired *Shunjin*. "In general," replied the other, "they continue in prison, as the best way of guarding the people from their practices." "Is it just," exclaimed *Shunjin*, "that those should die in prison whom the law doth not condemn to death?"

He immediately summoned all the prisoners before him, and admonished them severely, saying, "The judge does not restore you to liberty because you are incorrigible." He fears that you will repeat your offences, and be again committed: but, if you are ready to reform your conduct, I will release you from confinement." They all prostrated themselves before him, declaring that they should obey his injunctions, and accordingly were set at liberty. The prisoners, rejoiced at gaining their freedom once more, exhorted each other to reform their previous courses, and were no longer liable to punishment. Thus it was that *Shunjin* distinguished faults from crimes. The *Shooking* says, "When an offence is not very serious, let the penalty be light." The same authority observes, "It is better to give liberty to a criminal, than to imprison an innocent man."

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Accusing another of one's own crime.

In the first year of the reign of *Hy-tsoong*, a certain doctor, named *Wonghy*, had two servants, one of whom was clever and cunning, the other dull and simple. The first of these having robbed his master of some money, threw the accusation on his comrade. The doctor and his son, who filled public stations, gave themselves no trouble to investigate the case, but sent the stupid domestic to the magistrate, that he might be punished, and compelled to give up the money. His fellow-servants, however, suspected that he was the victim of an unjust accusation. The clever rogue persisted in his false testimony; and the object of his accusation, being unable to prove his innocence, was fastened for the night to the bottom of a high pole, to which was attached a flag; while his comrade, who had accused him, was placed as a guard. During the course of the night, the pole to which the flag was attached suddenly broke in two, and falling on the false accuser killed him on the spot. The neighbourhood was roused by this event, and on investigation the innocent simpleton was discovered safe and sound by the side of the other, declaring that he had known nothing of the occurrence. When day returned, they made search in the chamber of the cunning and false domestic, and there discovered the sum which he had purloined, by which means the innocence of his companion was put beyond a doubt. It may be learned from this, that he who has committed a crime, only aggravates it by throwing the accusation upon other persons.

Killing an enemy who surrenders.

When men give themselves up to a conqueror, or render a voluntary submission, from a reformation in their sentiments, they deserve praise for the motives which make them revert to a sense of their duty. When they do so from the pressure of necessity, we should pity their distress, and receive them with kind-

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ness. It would be barbarous absolutely to slay them. Hence the saying, "There is not a greater crime than to kill a surrendered enemy," and "He who kills an enemy that has surrendered is punished in the third generation."*

Ly-kwong, who put to death eight hundred Mongols after they had surrendered to him, failed in obtaining a principality. Under the *Ming* dynasty, *Heu-tsin* faced the snow, and marched by night to search for the rebels in their retreats. A certain officer of government imagined that he was going to establish his power by massacring them; but *Heu-tsin* replied—"The only proper end of military compulsion is to restore peace to the people. I would not be so inhuman as to build my fame on the number of heads I had cut off. If I slay these unfortunates, who are reduced to extremity, and demand their lives, I shall rebel against Heaven; and he who revolts against Heaven is deprived of posterity." In this manner eight hundred men escaped the death which menaced them.

Insulting and oppressing orphans and widows.

A native of *Kieshuey* took forcible possession of a field belonging to his nephew, who was an orphan, and built two pavilions on it. The nephew did not venture to plead against his uncle; he contented himself with burning incense, and denouncing to Heaven the injustice that he had suffered. A violent storm arose, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which carried off the two pavilions, and restored the land in its former state to the orphan. The oppressive uncle remained for some days on his knees upon the spot before occupied by the pavilions, and could not utter a word. When speech was restored to him he acknowledged the magnitude of his crime, and after the

* As the Chinese Confucians have no idea of a future state, they teach that crimes are punished until the third and fourth generation in this world.

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lapse of some time he was seized with sickness, and died in great torment.

Separating those who are allied as bones and flesh.

When *Yuen-koong* lived in his native province *Shensy*, a troop of brigands suddenly arose and spread consternation through the neighbourhood. He lost his only son in these troubles, and sought an asylum in *Keangnán*, with the intention of taking a wife of the second order, hoping that he might obtain a son to succeed him. He purchased a woman of this kind from her husband for thirty ounces of silver; but she had no sooner arrived at his house than she retired to a corner and began to weep violently. When *Yuen-koong* demanded the reason of this she replied—"We were reduced to extreme wretchedness, and should soon have died of hunger. Seeing that my husband was ready to put an end to his life in despair, I offered myself to be sold with a view to relieve his poverty. I am thinking of the kindness that he felt for me, and of our mutual attachment; this has all vanished in a day, and I am now obliged to serve a stranger. Such is the cause of the bitter tears which you see me shed."

Yuen-koong was touched with compassion, and conducted her back to her former husband, giving them a hundred ounces of silver to put them in the way of gaining their living. In gratitude for this treatment they formed the project of seeking a woman who might produce him a son in lieu of the one he had lost. On arriving at *Yangchow* they met with some person who offered to sell a young boy of twelve years old to anybody who wished to adopt a son. "Let us purchase him," said they, "and offer him as an adopted son to our benefactor." They were told that the boy's price was as many ounces of silver as he was years old, and, his age being twelve years, they gave for him twelve ounces of silver, and conveyed him to *Yuen-koong*. The latter on examining him attentively discovered that he was his own son,

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who had been carried off by the brigands! Such was the reward that awaited *Yuen-koong* in return for having united those who were "allied as bones and flesh."

Unjust extortion.

The riches and goods of this world are apportioned to each by the will of Heaven. He who acquires them by force or exaction always brings on himself unforeseen calamities. *Châng*, imperial censor in the province of *Szechuen*, one day gave the following narration to a relative of his own:—

"While on a course of inspection in the province of *Yunnân* I beheld during the night a figure clothed in red, which approached me, saying, 'I have long had in charge for you a sum of money, and awaited your coming with impatience.' I asked where it might be. The genius pointed to the bottom of my chair, where I found a thousand ounces of silver. 'How shall I carry this away?' said I. 'It shall be conveyed to your dwelling,' replied the genius; and so saying disappeared. When I returned to the capital to render an account of my mission I found an old fellow-student who solicited my good offices in order to procure a particular situation; and I made him in return give me two hundred ounces of silver. On entering my own house I fell to my prayers at midnight, and presently saw the same genius that had before appeared to me—but he brought me but eight hundred ounces of silver. Asking the reason of this he replied—'The sum that you miss is that which you extorted from your fellow-student.' I was filled with surprise and confusion, and thanked the genius for this lesson."

An intemperate use of prosperity.

There were two scholars who were born in the same year, the same month, the same day, and the same hour, and who likewise attained at the same time to the grade of doctor. Not long afterwards

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one of them was named literary intendant of one district, and his friend of another. Presently the one died, and the other officiated at his funeral. The survivor thus apostrophised the deceased as he stood before his coffin,—"The same hour gave both of us birth, and we were natives of the same country; having thus entered life together, what is the reason that we are now parted? If my prayer can reach you, I entreat that you will appear and answer me in dreams."

On the following night he dreamt that his brother intendant appeared to him, and said, "It was my own lot to be born in a high and opulent family. I early enjoyed all the advantages that accompany rank and fortune, and as I had soon used them up my death was premature. If you survive me, the reason is that your early condition was poor and obscure; you have not yet enjoyed the full sum of the good allotted to you by destiny."

A man dies as soon as he has consumed the allotment of good assigned to him; since the sum of our prosperous fortunes is previously fixed by fate. If a man expends the revenue of many days in one, he will have nothing left for to-morrow. Therefore it is said, that by the moderate enjoyment of good, a man prolongs the date of his life. (The object of this apologue is to teach a virtue constantly inculcated in China,—moderation.)

Forgetting the old for the new.

He who forgets his old connexions for new ones, proves that he has no real attachment to any thing, nor any sentiment of justice. Under the reign of *Tien-shan* there was a certain officer named *Maleang*, for whom the emperor had a great regard. His wife having died, the sovereign daily addressed to him some expressions of condolence; but *Maleang*, in the mean while, ceased in a short time to appear at the court. The emperor expressed his surprise. Having learned at length, through some of those who sur-

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rounded him, that the officer had just taken a new wife, his anger was roused. "Since," said the emperor, "this despicable man has shown so little respect for his first wife, there is no chance of his serving his master faithfully." Accordingly he condemned *Maleang* to the bastinade, and banished him for ever.

To think one thing and say another.

A certain president of the board of civil appointments was well acquainted with the good or evil qualities of all the officers; but in public praised them all indiscriminately. When it came, however, to recommending them for employment or promotion, he changed his language, and on his presentation list most of those whom he had before praised did not appear. A mandarin who had the privilege of approaching the emperor, indignant at this revolting inconsistency, presented a report, wherein he proved by numerous facts that the president sought only to obtain influence, and to enrich himself by corrupt gifts as the price of promotion. The emperor stripped him of his ill-got fortune, and condemned him to be degraded from his high office.

Coveting riches and obtaining them by fraud.

Tsaou-hân being charged with the duty of putting down the rebels in the south, acquired a mass of wealth which amounted to many thousand ounces of silver. He presently addressed a request to the emperor, in which he stated that "he entertained a wish to build a temple to Budha, in the district of *Ying-chow*. That he had seen on the mountain* *Leushân* a temple called *Tung-lin-sze*, which contained five hundred little images of the saints of Budhism; and that he wished to carry these with him." The emperor assented to his demand, and he accordingly took a public vessel of transport, and embarked on it the

* See a subsequent chapter, for a description of this place.

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chests containing the treasures which he had amassed taking care to place in the upper part of each the images of Budha. Those concerned in the carriage of the same supposed that these images formed the entire cargo.

Some time after this, *Tsaou-hân* was appointed general, with the title of *Tseangkeun*. He now pillaged openly the people whom it was his duty to protect: but his criminal proceedings were denounced by another public officer. The emperor stripped him of all his wealth, and sent him to die in exile; while his sons and grandsons were reduced to wander as beggars through the empire.

Practising on simple people.

In the first year of the reign of *Wan-leih* three men who were travelling together arrived at a river, but the only boat by which they could cross it was fastened to the opposite bank. One of them, who was a simpleton, was desired by the two others to swim across and bring the boat over. He accordingly put off his clothes and jumped into the water, and the stream running very strong, was nearly drowned for his pains. At last he reached the boat, and brought it back for his two companions. These, however, when he wanted them to wait until he fetched his garments, pushed off from shore, crying out, "It is too late, we cannot wait for you." But just as they reached the opposite bank, the impetuosity of the stream urged the boat with such violence against the steep shore, that she bilged and sank. The two men were drowned, while their companion remained safe and sound on the other side.

Ill-treatment of a wife.

Sze-t'hang, having attained to the grade of doctor, repented him that he had not espoused the daughter of an illustrious and opulent family. From this time he treated his wife with profound disdain; while she became so much chagrined at such undeserved con-

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tumely as to fall very sick. He, however, would not so much as look at her, which made her case desperate; and as her last hour approached, she addressed him, saying, "I shall die! Are you so hard-hearted as still to refuse me one kind look?" He, however, refused to take any notice of his wife.

When she died he began to entertain some feelings of uneasiness; and, as a precaution against her coming back to trouble him, he covered up her face, tied her hands, and did his best to make her secure before burying her. On the following night, however, the offended spirit appeared in a dream to her father, saying "You married me to a worthless man. During life he treated me with nothing but anger and hatred, and after I am dead he places my body in fetters. For this conduct to your daughter, heaven will deprive him of life." Sze-t'hang accordingly died the following year.

Treating ancestors with disrespect.

Disrespect to ancestors implies delaying their obsequies, or performing them contrary to the prescribed rites. It also refers to shortening the proper period of mourning, neglecting to visit and repair the tombs, or offering sacrifices to the manes without due veneration. Some lay hold on the pretext that the *foong-shuey** is not propitious; others, that the period of the year, or the month, is not favourable; others again, that the place of sepulture is ill-chosen. After the remains have been committed to the earth,† some persons transport them repeatedly to other spots. When the spring period is arrived, they just go once to visit and repair the tombs; but for six months, or the whole year besides, they trouble themselves no more about the matter than if the graves were placed in an inaccessible desert. To some, when they visit the places of sepulture, it is a pretext for roving about and amusing themselves with their friends, and they sometimes return overcome with wine. All

* 'Chinese,' p. 136. † Ibid., p. 297.

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The great stone rollers * used by the Chinese for pressing the grain from the husk, or for levelling the newly ploughed ground, appeared to be of black marble with white veins; but the stone of which the piers are constructed had a siliceous appearance, and broke like flint. The neighbouring hills must no doubt supply an abundance of stone. A famous mountain of *Shantung* is called by the Chinese *Taeshan*, and is probably the highest of the range.

On the 28th we arrived at the influx of the *Wun-ho*, where the stream turned in our favour, and flowed to the southward, being the highest point of the canal, and a place of some note. The *Wun-ho* flows into the canal on its eastern side nearly at right angles, and a part of it going to the north, the other part runs southward; while a strong facing of stone on the western bank of the canal sustains the force of the influx. This seems to have been the work of *Soongly*, who lived under the first emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, at the end of the 14th century.

In his time a part of the canal in Shantung province became so impassable, that the coasting passage by sea began to be most used. This was the very thing that the canal had been intended to prevent; *Soongly* accordingly adopted the plan of an old man, named Peying, a resident in that part of the country, to concentrate the waters of the *Wun-ho* and neighbouring streams, and bring them down upon the canal as they are at present. History states that *Soongly* employed "three hundred thousand" men to carry the plan into operation, and that the work was completed in two hundred days.

On both sides of us, nearly level with the canal, were extensive swamps with a shallow covering of water, which the Chinese dignify with the name of *Hoo*, "lakes," and which they plant extensively with the *Nelumbium*, useful for its roots and seeds. These

* The Jesuits say, "We observed marble rollers, like portions of columns, which they drag over the fields to level them.

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were occasionally separated from us by very narrow banks, along which the trackers walked, and the width of the canal sometimes did not exceed five and twenty yards. The boatmen paid their devotions with great assiduity at the temple of *Loong-wong*, "the dragon king," sometimes called *Hae-wong*, who presides over the watery element. A deputation from each boat burned incense, while the priests went through certain mysteries with the accompaniment of the gong (which the Chinese gods have the bad taste to like), and the whole ceremony was concluded with an offering of some cash. These small contributions must amount to something where the traffic is so great; for, as the Chinese proverb says, *Tseih shaou ching to*, "Accumulated littles make much."

In the afternoon we reached the neighbourhood of *Tse-ning Chow*, a town * of considerable dimensions. Here was the best show of soldiers that we had yet seen, drawn up to receive us. In number they were about two hundred and fifty, but being in very open rank they made the greater show. In addition to the usual proportion of archers and matchlock-men, we observed some armed with halberds, and others with a sort of short scythe on a pole. As usual, they reminded me more of a chorus at the opera, than men whose trade was slaughter. We seemed to be treated with more distinction as we advanced to the southward. The *ma-tow*, or platforms, before the principal boats had ornamental gateways over them. An immense population was collected to stare at us, and during dinner-time appeared quite absorbed by curiosity to view our band and the party at table with open windows. After dinner we some of us proceeded with the ambassador to take a walk along the banks of the canal. An orderly of the guard proved very useful in keeping off the crowd, who however were quiet and well behaved.

* The *Foo* might be named cities; the *Chow*, towns; and the *Hien*, burghs.

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frequent and less reserved in their visits, very readily accepting any presents that were made them. It was extremely desirable to conciliate them by civilities and trifling gifts, and the only point to be attended to, was the grade and rank of the persons who were admitted to visit the ambassador. The attentions paid to the mission at *Tungchangfoo* were rather more than common, in the decoration of the landing-places, the profusion of lights, and the number of soldiers, with their tents pitched near the anchorage of the boats. We had several times remarked that, on the ropes which enclosed the ground in the vicinity of our boats, small bells were suspended, which by their noise gave immediate intimation of any intruder into the tabooed precincts.

As we advanced, the canal in some parts became narrower, and the banks had rather more of an artificial appearance than where we first entered it, being occasionally pretty high; but still the winding course led to the inference, that as yet the canal was for the most part only a natural river, modified and regulated by sluices and embankments. The distance between the stone piers in some of the flood-gates was apparently so narrow as only just to admit of the passage of our largest boats. The contrivance for arresting the course of the water through them was extremely simple. Stout boards, with ropes fastened to each end, were let down edgewise over each other through grooves in the stone piers. A number of soldiers and workmen always attended at the sluices, and the danger to the boats in passing was diminished by coils of rope being hung down at the sides to break the force of blows.

The slowness of our progress, which for the last week averaged only twenty miles a day, gave us abundant leisure to observe the country. Its appearance continued to improve with diversified surface and clumps of trees amidst the cultivation. The cotton shrub, tobacco, hemp, and various grains, as wheat and sesamum, appeared to be the things

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chiefly grown. Indeed the great quantity of cotton which we saw during our journey, seemed to prove that the importations from India must form a very inconsiderable portion of the consumption of this vast empire, in which the whole of the inferior orders are universally clothed in cotton garments.

September 26.—When we stopped in the afternoon at a place called *Ganshanchin*, there were ornamented landing-places (called *Matow*, "horses' heads") erected from our boats to the shore. The following sentences were inscribed over them:—"The power of the Tartar dynasty is universal;"—"The winds regular and the rains favourable." The latter sentence is frequently used by the Chinese, and expresses the advantages resulting from general peace and submission. I observed, on referring to the Jesuits' travels in this part of the country, that the mountains of *Shantung* to the eastward of us must be very high, as goîtres are mentioned to be frequent among the population of the valleys.

We now began to make better progress on the canal than we had hitherto done. The stream, though against us, was not strong, except near the sluices, where it was confined. As the month of September drew to a close, the weather became cloudy and cold to a remarkable degree, considering our latitude. A strong northerly wind and rain brought the thermometer in our boats down to sixty degrees in the morning.

In the afternoon we stopped at a place called *Kaeho Chin*. The last word signifies a military station, or "corps de garde," and the first two syllables imply "the opening or commencement of the river," which led to the inference that this must have been the point from whence the canal was begun; an opinion rendered still more probable by our vicinity to the highest point, whence the current runs down north and south in opposite directions.

At *Kaeho Chin* a large party of us went on shore, and took a long walk through the adjoining village.

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CHAPTER IX.

EARLY on the 23rd of September we entered the CANAL through two stone piers and between very high banks. The mounds of earth in the immediate vicinity were evidently for the purpose of effecting repairs, which, to judge from the vestiges of inundation on either side, could not be infrequent. The canal joins the *Eu-ho*, which we had just quitted, on its right or eastern bank, as that river flows towards the *Peiho*. One of the most striking features of the canal is the comparative clearness of its water, when contrasted with that of the two rivers on which we had hitherto travelled; a circumstance reasonably attributable to the depositions occasioned by the greater stillness of its contents.

Whatever the course of the canal might become hereafter, it was, at this commencing point, evidently in the bed of a natural river, as might be perceived from its winding course, and the irregularity and inartificial appearance of its banks. The stone abutments and flood-gates are for the purpose of regulating its waters, which at present were in excess, and flowing out of it. As *Lintsingchow*, where the canal commences, is just under the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, and *Hângchowfoo*, where it terminates, is nearly in 30°, the direct distance is about five hundred English miles, without allowing for windings. It is the channel not only of subsistence, but of all kinds of tribute to Peking, in a country where so large a portion of the revenue is paid in kind. We observed, on the first day of our voyage on its waters, a large junk decorated with a yellow

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umbrella, and, on inquiring, found that it had the honour of bearing the "Dragon robes," as the emperor's garments are designated. These are forwarded annually, and are the peculiar tribute of the silk districts.

As we proceeded on the canal, the stone floodgates or sluices occurred at the rate of three or four a-day, sometimes oftener, according as the inequalities in the surface of the country rendered them necessary. The change from uniform flatness to something of variety was a great relief, and on the 24th some blue mountains were hailed by us in the direction of south and east. In the afternoon we came in sight of the large city of *Tunchangfoo*, which appeared to be well built, extensive, and populous, with high walls within the suburbs. After sailing and tracking along these for a distance of some two miles, we passed nearly a mile beyond the city, and were received by an extended line of soldiers, who, in addition to their arms and accoutrements, each carried a lantern tied to his spear or matchlock. This military feature, however, was still less amusing than certain watch-towers that had been lately remarked, formed entirely of mats, which were painted to imitate brick or stone. This was so completely "playing at soldiers," as to afford a most unequivocal proof of the unwarlike habits of the nation.

If these things excited some merriment, our compassion was moved by the miserable condition of the trackers who had been pressed for the service of our boats. They looked as if the whole province had been ransacked for its beggars, including all shapes of misery. Some of them were diseased, and others with scarcely a rag to cover them; and in a country where even the lower orders are decently and neatly dressed, more so than in Europe generally, they presented a strong contrast to the rest of the population.

I observed that as we receded from the neighbourhood of Peking, the mandarins had become more

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this implies contempt for the memory and the shades of one's ancestors.

Koong-heuen having lost his only surviving parent in his mother, arrived, after several grades of promotion, at the office of keeper of the archives. He returned some time afterwards to his native place, and offered a sacrifice at her tomb. His mother appeared to him in a dream, and reproached him for his past neglect. "Since you abandoned me," said she, "the wild animals have undermined the place of burial, and thorns and brambles have choked up the path to it. You have entrusted to two women the performance of the oblations which should have come from yourself. The god of the lower regions would have punished you, but as you perform faithfully the duties of your present office, he defers it, that you may endeavour from this time to repair your past neglect."

Losing time in unprofitable occupations.

The emperor *Seuen-tsoong* of the Ming race once invited Hoong-foo to see a theatrical entertainment. He replied that he did not love such exhibitions. Another time, when the emperor desired him to play at chess, he said he did not understand it. "How is that?" inquired the emperor. "In my childhood," said he, "my father rigidly forbade me every sort of game. He taught me solely to study books, and would not let me learn anything unprofitable." Many men have no other object than to enjoy the pleasure of a moment; and yet, in the most useless pursuits, they make as much use of their faculties as in the most important. They consume their fortune, contract maladies, and commit the gravest crimes. Add to this, that most of the pursuits of life vanish and leave no trace: but he who does what is useful to mankind will accomplish endless good. If you have talents, explain the ancient books, or make compilations of useful information. If you have wealth and power, repair wells and roads, construct dykes and

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bridges, establish granaries, sepultures, and places of education. All this is useful to mankind; and what is useful to mankind cannot fail to be useful to yourself.

NOTE.—It must be admitted that the foregoing are, many of them, excellent specimens of moral sentiment, though occasionally conveyed in what may strike us as a quaint or trifling manner.

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The night proved extremely cold, from the vicinity of so much flooded land; and the appearance, among some of our people, of the ague, from which I had just recovered, proved the insalubrity of the country we were passing through. After I had retired to rest, one of the military mandarins our conductors, with a blue button and peacock's feather, came to visit me, but I begged to be excused at that untimely hour.

As we did not proceed on our way until late on the morning of the 29th, an opportunity was afforded for surveying the suburbs of *Tse-ning Chow*, whose appearance surpassed what we had yet seen in that way. The canal seems to render this an opulent and flourishing place, to judge by the gilded and carved shops, temples, and public offices, along the eastern banks. Soon after quitting the neighbourhood of the town, we for the first time saw two boatsful of the fishing birds, but nothing would induce the fellows in the boats to come nearer for close inspection; we had abundant opportunities, however, of observing them afterwards. The canal in this part was a little raised above the level of the extensive marshes on each side, which were mostly under water.

On the 30th the swamps increased rapidly, until the whole country, as far as the eye could reach, displayed the effects of a most extensive recent inundation. The waters were on a level with those of the canal, and there was no need of dams, which were themselves nearly under water; and we occasionally observed sluices at the sides of the canal for discharging the superfluity. Clumps of large trees, cottages, and towers, were to be seen on all sides half under water, and deserted by the inhabitants. The number of these towers led to the inference that they were provided as places of refuge in case of inundation, which must here be very frequent. Wretched villages occurred frequently on the right-hand bank, along which the tracking path was in some places so completely undermined with water, as to give way at every step. Hurdles of reeds were often laid down to afford a passage to the feet.

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On reaching that part of the canal which skirts or passes through a lake called *Tou-shan Hoo*, the left bank was entirely submerged, and the canal confounded with the lake. All within range of the eye was swamp, and coldness, and desolation—in fact a vast inland sea, as many of the large boats at a distance were *hull down*, or invisible except the masts. We were here at no great distance from *Keo-fow Hien*, the birth-place of the sage Confucius, lying on our left, to whose honour we saw a temple erected, with a school or college for students, shortly before we reached the lake just mentioned. A chain of mountains was visible at a considerable distance on the south-east.

The swamps on the following day were kept out of sight by some very decent villages on the high banks, which, from perpetual accumulation, assumed in some places the aspect of hills. After breakfast I walked for about an hour and a half with Lord Amherst, and came to that point of the canal where it is crossed at right angles by a river, which is therefore called *Shĕ-tsze-Ho*, or "Cross river," styled in Barrow's map "the four rivers," where the course is cut through a low hill to the depth of thirty feet. We soon afterwards came again in sight of the dreary marshes, continuing to infest our course as far as the Yellow river, where we were to arrive in about five days.

We were informed that on reaching *Yang-chow-foo*, or rather *Kwa-chow*, where the Yang-tsze-keang crosses the canal, we were to turn to the right, up that mighty stream, and proceed in a south-westerly direction towards Canton, until we reached the Poyang Lake, which we were to cross. This intelligence proved a source of considerable satisfaction, as the whole course of the *Yang-tsze-keang* was untrodden ground; besides which this new route would afford us an opportunity of viewing Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire.

A part of our journey on the 1st of October lay along a portion of the canal where the banks, particularly to the right, were elaborately and strongly

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faced with stone; a precaution which seemed to imply a greater than ordinary danger from inundations. In fact the lakes, or rather floods, seemed to extend at present nearly to the feet of the mountains which lay at a distance on our left. We were now approaching that part of China which is exposed to the disastrous overflowings of the Yellow river; perpetual sources of wasteful expenditure to the government, and of peril and calamity to the people. So incurable, indeed, have been the destructive sallies of this great stream, and so useless is it (from its violence) for the purpose of internal intercourse, that it well deserves the name of *China's Sorrow*. The European trade at Canton has been heavily taxed for it.

We observed the repairs of the banks diligently proceeding under the superintendence of the proper officers. For this purpose they use the natural soil in combination with the thick reedy stalks of the *kaou leang*, or gigantic millet, of which the harvest had not long since been completed. This appears to be the mode in which the Yellow river is checked and confined throughout its boundaries in this part of China. The *Wei-chang Hoo*, or lake through which the canal might be said to run, when we passed on the 2nd, mingled its waters with our stream, the piers being nearly submerged; and we were carried along with such rapidity, that the only thing required was to guide and check our barges. This was done by taking ashore a small anchor from each boat, with which a man ran along the bank, and occasionally brought up the vessel's head by striking the fluke of the anchor in the ground, while we floated down stern foremost.

We were glad to quit the southern boundary of the province of *Shantung*, ravaged as it had been by the late inundations, and to reach the frontier of *Keang-nân*, which we did on the evening of the second at a place called *Ta-urh chen*, where a long rank of soldiers with lanterns was drawn out, and the ambassador was received with the usual salute of three guns. The

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actual viceroy of *Keangnân* and *Keang-sy* (or, as the Chinese call them, "the two Keangs") was *Pih Tajin*, formerly viceroy at Canton, and a bitter enemy of the English at that place. It was rumoured that he was to meet the embassy shortly in person; though there was every reason to suppose that the compliment was not intended for the ambassador, but for our conductor the legate.

The treasurer, or *Pooching-sze* of Shantung, who had the charge of our supplies since the judge quitted us, came to pay his farewell visit to the ambassador. He was more pleasing and well-bred in his manners than any of his predecessors, and appeared to avoid the subject of our quarrel with the emperor from a true sense of politeness. Nothing would induce him to accept any presents, and the reason he gave for this was the danger of misrepresentation. It had been invariably found that the military mandarins were more willing to accept gifts than the civil, which might be explained on two grounds: first, that they were probably poorer than the civil functionaries; secondly, that their offices and charges were of less weight and importance, and rendered them less liable to the suspicion of corruption than the others. We were to be now under the charge of the treasurer of *Keangnân*; while the legate, our grand conductor, seemed to concern himself less immediately about us, showing in this respect a disposition and manners very different from *Soong Tajin*, the amiable and enlightened legate during the mission of Lord Macartney.

In *Keangnân* we daily found the country growing more beautiful, better cultivated, and in all respects more interesting. We were soon nearly surrounded by picturesque hills in the distance. Our very trackers displayed the superior riches and prosperity of the province just entered upon, being clad in a uniform of blue and red, resembling that of the soldiers. During two preceding days, we had no occasion for any tracking, but dropped down with the

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stream stern foremost, in the manner before described, for the convenience of bringing up by the head without swinging. As the stream was now less rapid, we proceeded with trackers in the usual manner.

About midnight on the 4th of October we came to an anchor near *Sootsien Hien*, on the western bank of the canal. It is curious to observe, in the itinerary of four Jesuits who passed up this way, on their journey to Peking, more than a century and a half ago, this place described just as it exists at present. "Cette ville est sur une petite éminence; les murailles en sont à demi-ruinées; chacun de ses deux faubourgs vaut mieux que la ville. Nous vîmes proche des murs une espèce de palais nouvellement bâti. C'est un monument en l'honneur de l'empereur Cang-hy, qui passa par cette ville en allant à Soochow. La principale partie de cet édifice est une espèce de salon quarré, oblong, ouvert de tous côtés, à double toit, couvert de briques vernissées de jaune."

As the country was now becoming more flat, we found the sluices in this part of the canal much less frequent, and on the 5th of October passed through only one of them. From *Sootsien Hien* to the point of junction with the Yellow river, a length of about fifty miles, that great stream and the canal run nearly parallel with each other, at an average distance of four or five miles, and sometimes much nearer. As this was the season which the Chinese call "mid-autumn" (*choong-tsew*), the crews of our different boats had dressed up the shrines of their idols, and placed offerings before them of different kinds. The approaching operation of crossing the Yellow river, at all times considered as formidable, had occasioned our being abundantly stocked with live cocks, destined to be sacrificed in crossing the river. These troublesome and noisy birds plagued us so incessantly by their crowing on the top of the boat, that we looked forward with some impatience to the event which was to consign them to everlasting silence. The boatmen sent us red paper petitions (called *Pin*, a word whic

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has lately been discussed within the House of Commons), begging for aid in enabling them to provide the needful supplies.

Our boats on the 6th proceeded with great rapidity, having both the wind and the stream in their favour. I walked on shore for about half an hour, and was obliged to keep up a good round pace to avoid being left far behind.

About noon we reached a place called *Yang-kea Chuâng*, not many hundred yards from the spot where the canal joins the Yellow river. On our left was a stream called the *Sinyen-ho*, or "New salt river," communicating probably with the sea to the north-eastward, about sixty miles distant from this spot. On our right we had for several days been very close to the Yellow river, which, just before this point of junction with the canal, suddenly turns north-eastward to the sea, after having run in a south-easterly direction for some hundred miles.

After passing a considerable time at anchor, during which interval some of the principal mandarins visited the ambassador, we all weighed and prepared to cross the *Hoangho*. From the inflated accounts of former visitors we were led to expect something very uncommon, and even hazardous; we were, therefore, almost disappointed on finding the passage to be comparatively easy. The water, however, was most profusely charged with soil, and its colour fully entitled it to the name which it bears in reference to that circumstance. The depositions of mud at its embouchure must be enormously great, and calculated, at no distant period, to shut up its communication with the sea, or at least greatly to elevate its level inland. It is to this circumstance that the increasing difficulties must be attributed of restraining its destructive inundations.

The river in this part appeared to be about two-thirds of a mile across, and certainly a fine stream from its breadth; but as regarded the vessels on its surface, or the appearance of its banks, which were

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low, and scattered with wretched mud hovels, by no means a beautiful or remarkable object. A much finer awaited us yet in the *Yângtse-keang*. We observed some vessels constructed exactly in the form of oblong boxes, calculated to draw the least possible depth of water. These were laden with the straw or stalk of the gigantic millet, ready to be transported to different parts of the river and canal for the repair of the banks.

The stream was excessively violent, and carried us down a considerable way before we could reach the opposite bank; but the worst was yet to come in passing through a sluice, on the outside of which the water, confined in its passage between the abutments, raged in the most violent manner, forming eddies which sucked down large floating substances. The two projections, which formed this great opening of nearly a hundred yards wide, were not constructed of stone, but of the perishable stalks of millet already mentioned, combined with earth, and strongly bound together with cordage. This construction may perhaps diminish the dangers from striking; but we incurred little risk, the boats being drawn forward against the violent current by means of ropes or cables, hove in by capstans worked on the bank; and in this manner we were all dragged through the sluice, and against a fall of about two feet, without any accident.

The Jesuits who crossed here in the year 1687, during the month of January, state that it took them the whole day, in consequence of the ice, which it was necessary to break through, and the floating accumulations which retarded their passage. The freezing of so rapid a stream as the Yellow river indicates a very extreme degree of cold; and if such be the case in latitude thirty-three and a half degrees, it must be much more severe at Peking, in latitude forty degrees. To us the whole scene of the passage was most interesting. The difficulties which the Chinese, with their defective science, must have struggled

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through, in this junction of the canal with the Hoangho, are incalculable, and it is impossible to deny them the praise of the highest perseverance and industry.

Could the science of a Brunel be admitted to operate on those two great sources of trouble and expense to the Chinese empire (the Yellow river and the canal), a benefit might be conferred that would more than compensate for all the evil that we have inflicted with our opium and our guns. There exists nowhere in the world a finer field for the exercise of profound science and engineering ability. To the imperfect knowledge which the Chinese possess of hydrostatics and geometry must be attributed the perpetually recurring inundations which devastate the southern parts of *Shantung*, and the north of *Keangnân*.

Some considerable change had evidently taken place at the intersection of the canal with the river since the passage of Lord Macartney's embassy. It was plain to us all that after crossing the *Hoangho* we did not re-enter immediately into the canal, but that the waters which rushed with such impetuosity through the sluice into which we entered, were discharged from a neighbouring lake to the S. W., called *Hoongtse Hoo*. This was confirmed on the following morning, as we suddenly quitted the stream along which we had travelled for some hours, and turned off into the canal. It was probable that this was a temporary expedient, consequent on the unusual inundations of the past season.

On the 7th the ambassador and commissioners went on shore at the *Kinchae's* invitation, and proceeded in chairs to a tent erected on the bank, for the purpose of waiting until our boats had shot through a rather dangerous sluice. After some little discussion with the Chinese on the subject of precedence (upon this rather public occasion *in conspectu classis*), the whole party sat down in the tent, while the boats were coming up to the point of danger. The legate offered us a breakfast, but this was declined. After a short

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conversation, the ambassador proposed that we should walk out and view the boats passing through the sluice, to which the *Kinchae* readily agreed. We stood close to the edge of the stone piers, between which the water rushed with great velocity, as the construction of the passage was equal just to the breadth of a single boat, and the fall of water not less than two or three feet. All this might have been prevented by a *couple of flood-gates*, and the passage, instead of being really hazardous, rendered perfectly safe and easy: but here, as on some other occasions, the Chinese are quite primitive and inartificial. It was really a very curious and pretty sight, to view the large boats shooting through between the abutments with a momentum which carried them, like a ship when launched, several hundred yards without the aid of sail or oar. They were managed with very great dexterity, and not a single accident occurred to our whole fleet.

Soon after the boats had passed, it was proposed that we should proceed some way further down on the bank, and meet them at a convenient spot for embarkation; but before Lord Amherst and the commissioners entered their chairs, his lordship requested that the other gentlemen should be provided with horses. Though the reply was that no horses were to be had, there were evidently plenty on the outside of the tent, and some of our party accordingly helped themselves, and rode off to the place of rendezvous. Of all possible varieties of the animal, the Chinese horse is the most wretched and the lowest bred; and this seems to have been its character a century and a half ago—probably from the very first. The peculiar economy of the Chinese entirely banishes the larger domestic quadrupeds, or starves those which are kept. One of the early Jesuits observes—"We did not meet with a single flock of sheep on our land journey, but several of goats, and of black pigs; few oxen or buffaloes, a number of little mules, asses, and bad horses, which are the ordinary conveyance of travellers—we did not see one tolerably good horse."

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On arriving at the place of embarkation, we proceeded on the voyage, but stopped in the afternoon at a spot called *Sanchâ*, or "the third sluice," that is the third from the Yellow river. Our attention was presently attracted by a very handsome building on the other side of the canal, and I went over with a party to inspect it. This new and really elegant temple was dedicated to the reigning emperor's mother, and therefore called *Neangneang Meaou*,—"Our Lady's Shrine." In front was a *Paelow*, or honorary gateway, on the entablature of which was inscribed the name of the building. The roof of the temple was covered with yellow varnished tiles, and the walls coloured red. A small statue of the old empress, clothed in yellow, was placed in the sanctum sanctorum, and in galleries on the outside of this were all kinds of guardian deities—"Omnigenumque Deûm monstra." At the entrance stood a great figure of *Loongwong*, "the dragon king" (or, as he is sometimes styled, *Hae shin*), keeping guard with his sword drawn. His peculiar office was no doubt to control the waters of the canal, and prevent their drowning the image of the old empress.

He has, however, a particular connexion with Chinese royalty. The word *Loong* is applied as an epithet to most things pertaining to the emperor. *Loong-wei*, "the dragon-seat," is the imperial throne. The dragon is the badge, or coat of arms, affixed to his books and his standards. In this temple we observed that, in the apartment containing the empress mother's figure, the ornamented beams were covered with dragons richly gilt on a light blue ground. To render the apotheosis of the old lady complete, a pagoda-shaped vessel of bronze contained incense, which one of the priests informed me was kept perpetually burning. There was nothing inconsistent in this; if the Chinese regard their emperor as the "son of heaven," his mother must of course be considered as the wife, or the queen of heaven.

With all this, however, it is very remarkable that

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they have maxims and allusions which would seem to make the emperor only subordinate to his people. An ancient writer compares him to a fish in water—"the water can do without the fish; but the fish cannot do without the water." In like manner it is said that "the Son of heaven was established for the sake of the world; the world was not established for his sake." Again, it was the remark of an ancient emperor himself, that "the sovereign is a splendid vessel floating on the water; but the water which supports it can also overwhelm it." The consideration of these wholesome maxims has no doubt tended greatly to temper and mitigate Chinese despotism.

Their books say of government, that "when the people in all quarters have a sufficiency, the nation will enjoy tranquillity; when the government is liberally conducted, and exercises clemency, plots will be prevented; but if oppressive, it becomes impossible to exterminate plots." At the same time, the theory of the constitution is perfectly despotic, as appears from the following comparison:—"The emperor is a charioteer—the ministers of the court are his hands—the officers below them are the reins—the laws are the bits—and punishments the lash." Dr. Morrison, who quotes this in his dictionary, observes that we likewise talk of "the reins of government."

On having quitted the interesting spot above described, we found the fall of water at this third sluice fully as great as at the former ones, proving that the level of the country was descending as we proceeded towards the Yang-tse-keang. Early on the morning of the 8th we found ourselves at *Tsing-keang-poo*, a considerable town, though not classed under any of the three denominations of *Foo*, *Chow*, and *Hien*. As far as this point, our course appeared to have been very winding and circuitous, probably to obviate some difficulties in the general level near the Yellow river. We now appeared to steer our proper course to the southward, and the direction of the

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canal was more straight and uniform. One remarkable circumstance in our navigation was the *lashing the boats together by pairs*, which our boatmen stated was to prevent them drifting to leeward with the wind.

At noon on the same day we reached the large city of *Hoae-gan-Foo*, whose situation is in every respect remarkable. A part of the town was so much below the level of the canal, that only the tops of the walls (at least twenty-five feet high) could be seen from our boats. This was something worse than the sword of Damocles perpetually hanging over the inhabitants; and yet it proved to be, next to *Tien-tsin*, by far the largest and most populous place we had yet seen, the capital itself excepted. It is melancholy to think that at a later date, and some time subsequent to our visit, this place was completely flooded by the bursting of the canal! We may here repeat, what has been remarked before, that a first-rate engineer might find ample employment for his science, and confer a benefit on China equal to the introduction and diffusion of vaccination there by Pearson. *These* would be the proper forerunners of the missionaries,* whose objects are not likely to be promoted by war and the combined effects of opium and the sword.

My attention was excited, in the immediate vicinity of *Hoae-gan-Foo*, by the vast numbers of vessels which were ranged along the banks of the canal in exact order; and on inquiry it appeared that a command had been issued by the local authorities, to make way in this manner for the fleet of boats which conveyed the embassy. It was observed, at the same time, that the viceroy himself of the province could not expect such a mark of respect. It is probable, however, that the real cause of this was rather the necessity for leaving an open passage for our very numerous

* One of these gentlemen, some years since, oddly enough distributed religious tracts from an opium-ship.

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flotilla of barges, than any intention to flatter or compliment the embassy.

About six miles beyond the city we brought-to for the night, a guard of soldiers being arranged on shore, with their tents pitched. The *Kinchae*, our conductor, apologised for our stopping here, and stated that the contrary wind had, by its violence, compelled the whole fleet to stop short of their intended anchorage by about forty ly. It would have been more agreeable to our party had we remained at *Hoae-gan-Foo*, but there seemed a marked anxiety to keep us away from their large cities, if possible. Fortunately for us, circumstances did not always, or indeed generally, render this practicable.

On the morning of the 9th of October we reached *Paouying Hien*, a populous place, and, like the larger city which we had lately passed, considerably below the level of the canal. Here, however, the artificial level was not more than ten or fifteen feet above the plain; while at *Hoae-gan-Foo* it was greatly beyond that. In the course of the day, while making an excursion from the boats, we saw on the *Paouying Hoo*, an extensive swamp, or lake, on our right, five or six boats crowded with the fishing-birds, which they called *Yu-ying*, "fishing-hawk," and others *Yu-ya*, "fishing-duck," without much regard to specific accuracy. We prevailed on one of the men to bring his boat close to the shore, and had a narrow view of them. They stand about as high as a goose, but are not so heavy in make, with a very long bill, of which the upper mandible is hooked at the end, like all birds that prey on so slippery a subject as fish. Their colour on the back is darkish, approaching to black, and they appear to be something between a pelican and a cormorant. The people were very unwilling to sell them, and with sufficient reason, as the difficulty of training them for the service of the fishing-boats must be considerable. They were all secured by the leg, and some had a collar to prevent their gulping the fish.

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We made great expedition during the 10th, and a party of us who went on shore to walk were obliged to keep up a brisk pace for full three hours. At noon we reached *Chaou-pĕ*, a small neat town, where the houses, being whitewashed, with a story above the ground-floor, and furnished with regularly built chimneys, had a very European look. In the course of our walk we were forced by the rain to take shelter in a temple, where they were making some idols of clay. The country continued to bear the same general appearance of a morass. There, for the *first* time, we observed the cultivation of rice, so universal in the southern provinces of the empire. Since we had been to the south of the Yellow river, a very marked improvement took place in the appearance of everything; we were in fact approaching the richest part of the empire, consisting of the tea and silk provinces.

The distance between the Yellow river and the *Yang-tse-keang* by the canal is about a hundred English miles, and we were now rapidly approaching the last-named great stream, along a considerable portion of which it was destined that we should travel. From the village of *Chaou-pĕ* to *Yang-chow Foo*, the last large city to the north of the Keang, was forty *ly*, and we accordingly did not reach the latter place until night. To our surprise, instead of stopping there, our whole squadron continued its course, and did not come to an anchor until a very late hour, at a place much nearer to the great Keang, called *Kaouming-tsze*, "the lofty and bright temple," where we found amusement and occupation for several days; while the local advantages of an open, dry, and very pretty country compensated for the disappointment of not stopping at *Yang-chow Foo*.

We met at this place the boats intended for our voyage on the *Yang-tse-keang*. They were rather larger than our former ones, and better calculated, by their comparative strength of build, to buffet with the waves of the river, concerning which the Chinese

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have formidable ideas. On the morning after our arrival, we expressed a desire to see a very elegant-looking *Paou-tă*, or pagoda, which was close at hand, and some mandarins politely attended us to view it. This was the tower of *five* stories mentioned by Desguignes, who merely viewed it from his boat in passing; but it consists of seven stories, two of which are hidden by the other buildings. It was situated in the inner court of a temple of Budha founded by one of the emperors, the outer walls of which were accordingly painted dark red. Contrary to the advice of the mandarins and priests, who stated that it required repair, we ascended the spiral staircase to the fifth story, the two others being inaccessible. The solid brickwork of this lofty tower (which we calculated to be one hundred and forty feet in height) was surrounded at each story by a light wooden verandah roofed with varnished tiles, and hung at the corners with bells. The view from the highest point we reached was beautiful, commanding a great extent of country, and including within the range of vision the city of *Yang-chow Foo* to the north, the celebrated *Kinshan*, or "golden island," to the south-east, and the great Keang, like a branch of the sea, extending away to the south-west as far as the eye could reach.

These truly Chinese towers are so constantly a leading feature in the scenery of the country, that they deserve some particular notice. A good account of them is contained in the first part of Dr. Morrison's dictionary. The *Paou-tă* is generally, though not always, placed on an eminence; the inside is hollow through the centre to the very top, and there is a spiral stair in the wall around, not unlike those in the well-known columns at Rome, London, and Paris. The term *Paou-tă* has a reference to Budha: these monuments are in fact dedicated to him, and were introduced with his religion into China.

At *Shaouking Foo*, in the province of Canto-

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there is a pagoda to which many people repair, and present a sum of money from six to a hundred dollars, in order to illuminate it. There is supposed to be a merit in this act which ensures prosperity to the donors, and the priests are dispensed, by these liberal donations, from the necessity of going forth to solicit alms, like the generality of their order. The pagodas are commonly of five, seven, or nine stories, and the most modern ones are usually the lowest. We shall presently have to notice the famous "porcelain tower" of Nanking.

The temple, in one of the courts of which stood the pagoda already described, was not unlike the celebrated one near Canton. The priests were very attentive and polite, and entertained us in the principal hall with much ceremony, presenting tea and refreshments. Their salute was, as usual, with the two palms joined, and unlike that of the laity in China. A very large bell in one of the courts, which was struck on the outside with a mallet to make it sound, they informed me was to rouse the attention of Budha to their prayers; a measure highly requisite, if we were to judge from the stupid and sleepy countenance of their god.

The transhipment of the baggage and stores into our new boats was, as before, a long and operose process, entailing a delay at this place of two or three days. This gave us time to examine every object of interest in the neighbourhood. Among the rest was a small temple, enveloped in trees, on a rising ground at no great distance from our boats. The priests were of the Budhist persuasion, and showed us round the hall, containing idols of the Indian god in his threefold personification. They presented us with some copies of their books of prayers, and recommended them with much solemnity of manner to our attention.

From hence we proceeded to view a large pond, overhung with weeping willows, in front of the temple. The priest furnished us with pieces of bread cake, which being thrown into the water were

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greedily swallowed by fish of two or three feet in length. One of the principal tenets of the Budhists being the preservation of animal life, most of these temples maintain, in a similar state of well-fed security, some particular kind of animal. Here it was fish; but near Canton the selection was less agreeable, as it consisted in a herd of overgrown swine, in a disgusting state of dirt and obesity. The priests told us that to attempt the lives of their privileged fish with either nets or lines, would be a crime of the deepest dye.

We observed for the first time since we had been in the north of China, some bamboos in this place, of a growth and size much inferior to those in the south; proving that the climate here was not sufficiently warm for their full development. The growth of particular plants, when their habits are ascertained, is not a bad criterion of climate; and I was rather surprised to find a tropical plant, like the bamboo, growing at all so far north as latitude 32½ degrees.

On the evening of the same day our legate Kwong visited the ambassador in his boat, and talked as usual of trifling and indifferent matters, being always anxious to avoid anything of an official or business-like nature. He had the vanity to state that the mandarins and others in this province had changed their summer caps for winter ones, after his example, and in compliment to him, not waiting for the viceroy; the inference from which was, that (as a special imperial commissioner) he was a greater man than the viceroy himself.

The cap is the most ceremonial appendage among the Chinese. With the ball on its conical top it is a distinctive mark of titular rank. As on most other occasions, their customs as to covering the head are the very reverse of our own. We consider it a mark of respect to uncover the head; with them it would be a great violation of decorum, unless among intimates, and with leave previously asked. In hot weather, when friends interchange visits, and it is

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more agreeable to be uncovered, the host says to his guest, "*Shing kwân!*"—raise, or put off the cap,—after which the scruple no longer exists.

We had every reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the mandarins in charge of our embassy through this part of China. Their conduct in regard to the change into our new boats was most willing and accommodating. As the approaching voyage along the *Yang-tse-keang*, after quitting the canal, did not admit of our daily meeting to dine together in the same boat, arrangements were made for living entirely on board our respective vessels; in which, as before, we were divided into parties of two, three, or four persons, with the several attendants. There was every prospect of our finding the new boats sufficiently comfortable, and rather larger than the previous ones.

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CHAPTER X.

BEFORE taking a final leave of the Grand Canal, we may notice an incident which occurred on board the boat in which I travelled, and which made a strong impression on my mind, evincing as it did the effects of the indiscriminating character of Chinese law in cases of homicide, accidental or otherwise. The boatmen had been feasting on certain sacrifices and oblations of eatables and drinkables, considered indispensable upon entering the canal; the smallest possible quantity of which good things had been thrown overboard for the gods, and the lion's share very prudently kept for the sacrificers—*pro salute corporum*.

It appeared that one of the crew had become so zealously drunk as to occasion his falling overboard in the dark; but his messmates being either in a similar condition themselves, or afraid to interfere, he was drowned. Not a Chinese hand was stretched to save him,—to use a native phrase, they had "iron hearts and stone entrails," *teih sin, shĕ chang*. But some of our own people bestirred themselves, and at length drew him up, though not before he was quite dead.

When out of the water, our Chinese crew would not let the body be brought on board; so it was carried in the punt on shore, and subjected to a kind of inquest by the local mandarin, who at length directed that it should be buried. The extraordinary conduct of our boat-people on this occasion was only to be explained by the state of the Chinese law, which always regards the individuals last seen with the deceased as *primâ facie* guilty, and treats mere witnesses as harshly as criminals.

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I have often seen *face-slapping* (no slight punishment in itself) inflicted on a witness; and, where any particular point is to be gained, they apply the ankle-pressers to men and the thumbikins to women. This may fully account for the fright with which every Chinese regards the mandarin's tribunal. The magistrate has, in fact, an undue interest in finding *some one* guilty of homicide, as in case of failing to detect the perpetrator he is in danger of punishment himself.

This subject is somewhat illustrated by a story familiar to the popular literature of the Chinese, and forming one of a collection from which Père Dentrecolles made some French translations. A short *précis* of this will answer our purpose as well as a translation, and occupy less time and space. There lived, then, in the province of *Chĕ-keang*, a certain scholar named *Wong*, whose whole time was passed among his books. He had a wife, who was a model of perfection, excepting only that, in lieu of a family of sons, she had borne him a single daughter. In other respects she suited our scholar perfectly, and they lived together in the most undisturbed harmony.

One fine day in spring a few friends called upon Wong, and persuaded him to accompany them on an excursion beyond the town. Transported by the beauties of the season, they thought of nothing but diversion. An entertainment was ordered to be provided, at which the friends regaled themselves; and before they separated to their homes, a good number of cups had been "drunk on the premises."

Wong, on returning to his house, found at the door two of his servants engaged in an altercation with a stranger. They complained that he wanted them to pay too dear for something they had just purchased out of a basket which he carried; while he, on the other hand, maintained that the price was a fair one. Our scholar, after asking some questions, turned round to the man, and telling him that he was already very well paid, bade him begone, and not make such an uproar at his door.

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The stranger upon this complained of the hardship of being denied his due, and reproached Wong with the intention of oppressing a poor man like himself. The latter, who had just quitted his drinking party, flew into a violent rage. "Rascal that you are," said he, "how dare you address your betters in this style?" And with this, unmindful that the stranger was an old man, he pushed him violently and threw him on his back. For this intemperate conduct *Wong* was fully punished by his fright when he perceived that the poor man lay without sense or motion.

He cried out for help, and with the assistance of his domestics conveyed the stranger into a neighbouring apartment. There they plied him with hot tea, until he at length recovered from what appeared to be only a swoon. *Wong*, after making many excuses for his own violent conduct, gave him some wine to revive him, and added a present of a piece of silk, which the poor man might turn to some account. This good treatment converted the stranger's misfortune into something like good luck; he returned a thousand thanks, and taking his leave repaired to the banks of the river, which it was necessary for him to cross before night.

Could Wong have looked into futurity, he would have detained the old man some time in his house, and thereby avoided the calamity which was destined so soon to overtake him. No sooner, however, had the troublesome guest departed, than he hurried into the house, and began to take credit to himself with his wife for being so well rid of a bad business.

As it was now late, the lady summoned her domestics, and ordered supper. She made her husband drink a good cup of warm wine to recover him from the effects of the late fright; and he had already regained his spirits and began to feel himself comfortable, when a loud knocking was heard at the door. What could this mean? He seized a lamp, and hur-

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ried to inquire the cause at the entrance, where he found the head man of the passage-boat, by which the river is crossed, holding in his hand the piece of silk and the basket of the old stranger who had lately departed.

On seeing *Wong* the boatman cried out, "You have got into a dreadful scrape; it is all over with you! How could a scholar like yourself kill a poor travelling pedlar?" This came like a thunderbolt upon the unfortunate *Wong*, and he asked the other in a fright to explain himself. "Don't you understand me?" said the boatman. "Look at this piece of silk and this basket." Wong then said that an itinerant dealer had come to his house, and that the silk and the basket certainly belonged to him. "How came these things," added he, "into your possession?"

"It was already dark," replied the other, "when the owner of them applied to me for a passage in my boat. Scarcely had he embarked when he was seized with an internal pain which reduced him to extremity. As he lay dying, he informed me that it was the consequence of the blows which you had inflicted on him. 'Take this piece of silk,' said he, 'and this basket; they will serve as proofs when you bring my murderer (as I conjure you to do) to justice.' So saying he expired."

Poor Wong was so terrified at this story that he could not utter a word. His heart was agitated like that of a young deer, which beats itself against its prison in trying to escape. Recovering himself a little, he at length exclaimed, "What you say is impossible." Nevertheless he desired a domestic to proceed to the vessel, and to satisfy himself of the real truth. This man on his return declared that the dead body was really there.

Wong was a man of a timid nature, and devoid of all presence of mind. He rushed into his house in a state of distraction, and telling his wife what had occurred, "I am a lost man," cried he; "the storm is

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ready to burst upon my head. I see no help for it but to bribe the boatman to dispose in some way of the corpse."

With that he took a packet of silver which made in all about twenty taels, and returned to the boatman. "I depend," said he, "on your keeping my secret, and am going to speak to you in confidence. I certainly brought this unhappy affair upon myself, but it was more from accident than malice. We are both of the same district, and I trust that you will behave to me as a neighbour. Would you ruin me for the sake of a stranger? Is it not better to hush up this matter? My gratitude shall be proportioned to your kindness. Take the body; throw it into some out-of-the-way place; the darkness of the night favours the design."

"Where shall I throw it?" replied the boatman: "if somebody should chance to discover it to-morrow, and the case comes before the magistrate, I shall be considered as a sharer in the murder, and be mixed up with yourself for my pains."

"You know," said *Wong*, "that the burial-place of my father is near to this, and that it is a retired spot. The night is dark, and there is no chance of meeting any one. Be so good, then, as to transport the body on board your boat."

"This is very well," said the boatman, "but how will you pay me for this service?" Wong now took out the packet of silver, and gave it to him. The boatman weighing it in his hand, exclaimed, with a look of disdain, "Here is a man killed, and you pretend to be quit of it at this cheap rate? It was my good fortune which brought the old man to me—a chance has been afforded for bettering my condition—a hundred taels is the least I can expect."

The poor scholar, in his anxiety to get out of the scrape, did not venture to dispute it with him; but returning into the house collected what silver remained, together with some other effects, which made up a sum of about sixty taels, which he delivered "

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the boatman, telling him it was all that his poverty afforded. The other then relented, and said that he should be contented with this, and hoped for his good offices as a man of letters hereafter.

Wong then gave the boatman something to eat, and in the mean while desired two of his domestic slaves to prepare shovels and hoes. With these they went on board the boat, and proceeded in it to the place of sepulture, where they selected a spot in which the ground was soft, and easy to be worked. Having dug a grave and interred the body, they all returned to the house; but the whole transaction had occupied the night, and when they came back it was already dawn. The scholar retired to his apartment, to talk over his misfortune with his wife.

"Alas," cried he, "that a man of my profession, and of so ancient a family, should be reduced so low by a wretched scoundrel!" His wife here tried to console him, by arguing that it was his inevitable destiny, and that he should submit with patience. "Thank heaven," said she, "that it is no worse with you in so dangerous a predicament. Go and take some repose—you have need of it after such a night." Wong took her advice, and retired to rest.

After the lapse of some time, our scholar finding that the late unfortunate affair remained unnoticed, procured some offerings to the gods, and thanked them, in conjunction with his ancestors. The boatman in the mean while sold his vessel, and with the money which he had obtained from poor *Wong* he set up a shop and addicted himself to trade.

The scholar had been betrayed into the utmost improvidence and want of foresight in only burying the dead body, instead of burning it, by which means he would have destroyed all traces of the unfortunate occurrence. Instead of which, he behaved like those who only cut down the weeds, without rooting them up, and thus leave the sources of future trouble.

It is an old and true saying, "that good luck comes

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leisurely, but misfortunes travel by express." The only daughter of Wong had just commenced her third year, when she was attacked by a very virulent small-pox. They prayed for her—they consulted the lots, and called in good medical aid—but all in vain. The father and mother passed days by the bedside of the sick in tears. At length they discovered that there was one doctor in the neighbourhood, deeply skilled in the treatment of the disease, and who had saved the lives of many persons afflicted with it.

The scholar immediately wrote a very pressing letter, which he delivered to one of his domestic slaves, charging him to hasten with all diligence. He counted the hours in hopes of the doctor's arrival, but he never came. The disease in the mean time grew worse, and the child at length died, amidst the tears and lamentation of her parents.

The messenger did not return until the next day. His answer was, "that the doctor had been from home, and that he waited the whole day for him to no purpose." The grief of the unhappy Wong was renewed at this recital. "Alas," cried he, "it was the destiny of my poor daughter that she should be denied the succour of so able a physician!" and with that his tears flowed afresh.

A few days afterwards it came to light, through the means of the other domestics, that the messenger, instead of delivering his commission, had stopped to drink at a tavern mid-way. Having made himself tipsy, he lost the letter with which he was charged, and then returned home to concert the lie which he had told to his master. Transported with indignation, the scholar summoned his other slaves: "Take that scoundrel," cried he, "lay him down on the ground, and give him fifty blows with the bamboo as hard as you can." When he had seen this done, he retired to his apartment overcome with grief.

The slave, half dead with his flagellation, rose up and retired to his quarters. Being naturally a very brutal fellow, this punishment roused all his evil pa-

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sions. "Ah," said he, "this flogging shall cost you very dear, my master!—I will be handsomely revenged." After a little consideration he made up his mind as to the mode; "As soon as I have recovered from this beating," cried he, "you shall see what I can do in the way of return!"

Our scholar in the mean while, a victim to his sorrow, was invited by some relations to spend a little time among them, and there he gradually learned to bear with his fate. On his return to his own house, as he was walking about at leisure, a number of the police suddenly made their appearance, and coming up to poor Wong threw a chain round his neck. "What!" exclaimed the scholar, in consternation,—"do you treat one of my profession in such a way as this?"

The police, however, only made a jest of his remonstrances, telling him that "a scholar had no business to commit murder." So saying, they dragged him before the tribunal of the magistrate, where, as soon as they had placed him upon his knees, he perceived the slave, who had become his accuser, and who betrayed in his countenance the joy that he felt at his master's disgrace. It became at once clear that the fellow had originated this prosecution in revenge for his late punishment.

"You stand accused," said the magistrate, "of the murder of a travelling vendor of goods. What have you to say to this charge?" "Ah, sir," exclaimed Wong, "holding as you do the delegated office of the just heavens, do not listen to the calumnies of this wretch. Consider that a scholar by profession, weak and timid as I am, could hardly have fought with and killed another man. My accuser is one of my own slaves, whom I detected in a heavy offence, and punished according to the right which I possessed over him. In revenge he has contrived this plot for my ruin; but I look to your wisdom and justice to unmask his dark schemes."

The slave, when he had touched the ground with his forehead, interposed by entreating the magistrate

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not to listen to the stories of that scholar, who had great skill in misrepresentation. The bones of the murdered man, he added, were still in the place of burial. Let them be examined; if found, they would prove the fact; if not, he would be content to suffer the full penalties of a false accuser.

The magistrate accordingly sent a party to the spot, where, under the guidance of the slave, they searched for and found the body in question. No possibility of distinguishing it remained, but they carried it on a litter to the court of the magistrate, who, when he had viewed the same, declared that the accusation was substantiated. The question was about to be applied to the poor scholar, when he entreated to be heard as follows:—

"The state of this body will prove that it has been long under ground. If, then, I was the murderer, why did my accuser not denounce me before? It is quite as likely that he placed it there himself, to bring this charge against me." "There is some reason in this," said the magistrate; but the slave declared that the neighbours would prove such a person as the deceased having come at a particular bygone date to the scholar's house, and there been struck by him.

Some of the neighbours were accordingly summoned, and asked if they knew anything of the circumstances. They declared "that the scholar, at a particular date, had beaten a man who came to his door, in such a manner as apparently to have killed him. He was revived, however, after an interval; and since then they had heard nothing of him." The poor scholar was overcome by this weight of evidence against himself, and could say nothing more.

"The prisoner is clearly guilty," said the magistrate, "but he will confess nothing until he is compelled. Give him the bastinade." In an instant two executioners of the court seized upon Wong with a loud cry, and laid him at length on the ground, where they applied twenty blows with the bamboo, well laid on. He could ill bear up against this,

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to avoid worse treatment readily confessed to all that was demanded.

"You deserve death," observed the judge, "but as the relations of the deceased have not yet appeared, there is still time to pass sentence. When these shall have claimed the body, I will determine on the mode of punishment." The scholar was forthwith conducted to prison, and the remains of the body reinterred where they had been found, with a strict injunction that they should lie undisturbed until the relations appeared.

The slave retired well pleased with the results of his malicious accusation; but when the poor scholar's wife was informed of the proceedings at the mandarin's court, by those whom she had despatched for the purpose, her grief and alarm deprived her of sense and motion. As soon as the first access was over, this unhappy woman collected the money that was in the house, and taking with her two female domestics, repaired to the prison where her husband was confined.

The meeting was a very mournful one. As soon as he could speak, the poor scholar exclaimed against the malicious wretch who had brought all this upon him, and expressed his conviction that the blackness of his perfidy must one day be punished. This was their only hope and consolation in the midst of a calamity for which there seemed no present prospect of a remedy. Compelled at length to separate from her husband, the scholar's wife distributed such a sum among his guards as was calculated to diminish the hardships of his treatment.

Her servants, in the mean while, were in great affliction for their master, and as little able as herself to devise a remedy for his misfortune. While they were assembled together in the house, an old man suddenly made his appearance, bringing with him some presents, and inquiring for their master, if he was at home. In another moment the servants were tumbling over one another as they made their escape

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in all directions, crying out "*it was a ghost!*" This was the apparition of the old man supposed to have been killed.

"Are you all mad?" said the ghost, as he seized one of them by the arm; "I come to see your master. What do you take me for?" The scholar's wife, hearing the uproar, came out to inquire the cause, when the old man advanced and respectfully saluted her, saying, "Madam, you doubtless recollect the last time I was here. The kindness of the scholar your husband is not forgotten by me. I remember the supper he gave me, and the present of a piece of silk, and have brought back some trifles on my way through the country, which I beg to offer to your husband. I cannot imagine what has led your domestics to take me for a wandering spirit."*

One of the servants from a corner of the enclosure roared out, "Madam, take care! It is the ghost of the dead come on purpose to complete the ruin of our master." "Silence!" exclaimed the scholar's wife. "I am persuaded it is no ghost, but the old man himself. My husband has suffered greatly on your account!" added she, addressing the stranger.

"What!" cried he, astonished to hear this, "what could I have done to injure so worthy a person?" She then recounted in a few words how the boatman had produced a dead body on the same dark night, and asserted it to be his, together with the basket and the piece of silk. How the same boatman had been gained over by money to conceal the circumstances, and to assist in interring the dead body. How the vindictive slave had afterwards denounced his master for a murderer, and the train of evidence, with the torture, which had led to her husband's forced confession and condemnation.

The old man struck his breast as he listened to this strange recital. "Madam," exclaimed he, "is it possible that such a wretch can exist? I went straight from your house to the boat. Seeing the piece of

* *Kwei*, the name applied to Europeans.

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silk, the boatman asked me where I obtained it. I told him very truly that having been struck by the scholar your husband, I lay for some time without motion. That on recovering I was very kindly treated, and presented with that piece of silk. He asked me to sell it to him, which I did. He likewise wished to have my basket of bamboo, and this I delivered in payment for my passage. Could I imagine he possessed himself of these things to put in practice so horrible a scheme of treachery?"

"Until you appeared," said the lady, "I myself was convinced that you were dead. But where could that body have come from, which the boatman said was yours?" After a little recollection, "I understand it," cried the old man; "while I was on board, detailing my history to the boatman, I saw a body floating on the water; I observed it attentively, and am sure it was the corpse of some person drowned by accident. That boatman is a dreadful monster!—There is no time to be lost—receive, I pray you, these little presents, and let us proceed at once to the audience of the magistrate. I will convince him of the false accusation, and obtain the liberty of the scholar your husband."

The scholar's wife presently drew up an address to the magistrate, detailing the particulars, and then proceeded with the old man to the audience. Arrived there, they both declared the innocence of the accused, and answered the various queries that were addressed to them. As the mandarin seemed to suspect some collusion between the parties, the old man named several inhabitants of the place, who knew him personally, and who, on being summoned, immediately recognised him, expressing their astonishment at seeing him still alive.

Secrecy having been enjoined on all the parties, the magistrate ordered some of his people to search out the boatman who had invented the tale of the old man's death, and to bring him into court, together with the malicious slave who had originated the

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false accusation against his master. The scholar's wife in the mean while hurried to the place of her husband's confinement, and rejoiced him by the announcement of his approaching deliverance.

The boatman, who little suspected what awaited him, hurried to the audience with great confidence, but, on seeing the unexpected stranger, betrayed the terror which suddenly seized him. "Friend," cried the old man, "how have you been since that day when I sold you the piece of silk and the bamboo basket? Has trade thriven with you lately?" The slave was next introduced. "Do you know that man?" asked the magistrate, pointing with his finger to the aged stranger supposed to be dead. The same astonishment and terror were visible in his countenance, and both the rogues stood as it were entranced and unable to utter a word.

Being put to the question, these two miscreants presently confessed the whole of their guilt. The boatman's statement corroborated the account given by the old man. "There is only one point," observed the magistrate, "which I do not understand. How happened it that a dead body was found so opportunely by the boatman, and that it so exactly resembled the old man? He must have committed the murder himself and sought to fasten it on the other."

"Alas, sir!" exclaimed the boatman, "when I saw a corpse floating on the water it seemed easy to deceive the scholar Wong, and the same motive led me to buy the silk and the basket from the old man. The darkness of the night was such that they failed to detect the trick. I swear that I am utterly ignorant of the history of the dead body, but suppose it was some person who fell into the river and was drowned." The old man here interposed, and confirmed this part of the evidence by saying that he saw the floating corpse himself.

"Have pity on me," cried the boatman; "I wished only to obtain the scholar's money, without injuring his person!" "Wretch!" exclaimed the mandarin,

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" do you dare to ask for mercy after contriving the ruin of an innocent man? As for the slave, he deserves an equal punishment. Take these two villains, throw them on the ground, give the slave forty blows with the bamboo; and let the boatman have double that number."

The justice of heaven would no longer permit these wretches to exist. The slave expired under his forty blows, and the boatman as soon as he had received seventy. The scholar Wong was forthwith liberated from prison, and the mandarin in open court declared his innocence, while he restored him to his family. He at the same time commanded that all the effects which had been acquired by the boatman in trading with the money which he had extorted from Wong, should be delivered into court. These amounted to a considerable sum.

" According to rule," said the magistrate, " these effects should be confiscated; but, in consideration of the losses and sufferings of the scholar Wong, let the property of the criminal go to him whom he robbed and injured."

When they had returned thanks to the mandarin for his just and impartial adjudication, the scholar and his wife returned home, where they testified in the most lively manner their gratitude to the old man who had exerted himself to relieve them from such a load of misery.

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CHAPTER XI.

We left the neighbourhood of the "lofty and bright temple" at an early hour on the 14th of October, but very soon stopped on account of the wind being foul, at the distance of only half a mile from the great river, which the boatmen would not venture to encounter under these adverse circumstances. Near to our place of anchorage was the old town of *Kwa-chow*, the terminus of that portion of the canal which we had journeyed over, and seated exactly at its junction with the Keang. This place may at some future day become famous by our war steamers, or smaller vessels of war, sailing up to it from the mouth of the great river, to blockade the imperial canal.

At a short distance up the canal we had left behind us the *Woo-yuen*, or "five gardens," which had been many years ago the temporary residence of the emperor *Kien-loong*, when he visited the more southern provinces of his empire, and especially the cities Soochow and Hăng-chow. Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, our chief military conductor, *Wong Tajin*, a mandarin of high rank, and decorated with a red ball on his cap, with much willingness and civility accompanied the ambassador and a large party of us to view these celebrated gardens. The ground which they covered was far from extensive, but by the usual intricacies and tricks of Chinese gardening, an artificial appearance of extent was given with the help of winding walks among pavilions, bridges, rocks, and groves; the whole being embellished with the addition of a piece of water, in which was situated a little island.

We were shown the room, or rather the open pavi

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lion, in which this master of three hundred millions had dined; and on an upright slab of black marble was engraved the fac-simile of some verses in the imperial handwriting, surrounded with a rich border of dragons. Like almost everything of the kind that we had seen in the country, this once decorated abode was in a sad state of dilapidation and ruin, and calculated to produce no other emotions than those of melancholy.

After breakfast (for the previous excursion was in the very earliest part of the morning), our obliging military mandarin walked with us to the point where the canal joins the *Yang-tse-keang*, along the shore of which we proceeded in the direction of the stream, until we obtained a near view of the celebrated *Kin-shan*, or "golden isle," a beautiful island in the middle of the river, covered with Budhist temples and places of worship, amidst which a very handsome *Paou-tă*, or pagoda, was the most conspicuous object.

This picturesque place is celebrated all over China, and we were fortunate to have such a view of it, as our course *up* the Keang, in the opposite direction, prevented our passing it on the journey. The priests of Budha always contrive to fix their temples and pagodas in the most advantageous and beautiful spots, and no doubt find it politic to do so, as they in this manner become the haunts of travellers and curious people, who perform a willing pilgrimage to the shrines which they contain. From the great breadth of the river, which at this place is not less than two miles across, the islet was at a considerable distance from us, but we would willingly have crossed to inspect it had not the mandarin made so many difficulties that the point was given up.

On our return we passed by the legate's boat, and the ambassador, with his whole party, was civilly invited by him to walk in and take some tea. The conversation turned upon the restraint which the Chinese officers of government suffer in their movements from place to place. Kwong told us that when at Peking

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he could not go the distance of twenty miles without special leave from the emperor. He gave to the youngest of our party, a boy of fourteen, a very pretty embroidered purse. This, he observed, was *Kea-tso*, "made by the females of his family," and he added that it would be improper in him to present such a thing to any older person, according to Chinese notions of fitness. Soon after returning to my boat, I received a box of tea from him; this was of the fine green kind, named *Loongtsing*, of which we had partaken in his barge, and consisted of the young leaf-buds of the green tea plant, at Canton called "hyson pekoe," for that reason. Being but slightly fired in the manufacture, it very soon suffers from damp, and is accordingly less fitted to keep than any other tea.

On the following day, as the wind still continued unfavourable, we went to take another view of the golden island, which, with its pagoda, and the ornamental roofs of its temples and other buildings, looked like a fairy creation rising out of the silvery expanse of the Keang. Two more days of contrary wind succeeded, and were occupied in exploring the half-deserted town of *Kwa-chow*, whose name signifies "the island of gourds," being completely insulated by the river and canal. We took a long walk along the top of the walls, which were, as usual, of great thickness, and afforded a broad level platform behind the parapet: the parapet itself, about six feet high, did not in thickness exceed the length of a brick and a half, and the embrasures were evidently not constructed for cannon, being much too high. A very considerable portion of the area within the walls consisted of burial-grounds, planted with cypress; and this alone was a sufficient proof of the decayed condition of the place, as in modern or fully inhabited cities no person can be buried within the walls. Almost every spot bore traces of ruin, and there appeared to be but one good street in the whole town; this, however, was full of shops, and as busy as Chinese streets always are.

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Our friend Wong Tajin, the military mandarin, in consequence of a wish expressed by the ambassador, very civilly caused a small party of his Chinese soldiers to go through certain evolutions in firing and shooting with the bow. The archers were not so skilful as might have been expected from the trained troops of a nation whose chief weapon has always been the arrow; but they contrived to hit the target at about forty yards. The matchlock men did quite as well as we anticipated. They shot in rapid succession, and kept up a sort of running fire round a man who stood with a flag in the centre, and served as a pivot to the rest.

On the 18th of the month, as there still appeared to be no chance of moving, I set out with a party to explore the neighbourhood, and we made a circuit of nearly ten miles before returning to our boats. On first reaching the nearest gate of the town, with the intention of crossing through it to the opposite side, it proved to be shut; but having discovered a narrow pathway by a canal which passed under an arch in the wall, we made no scruple to enter. Having proceeded a few hundred yards, a number of Chinese appeared, with a mandarin at their head, who civilly but earnestly dissuaded us from going any further within the town. This sudden start of jealousy and caution was rather surprising, as on the preceding day every one had entered the town with full liberty. The mystery, however, was cleared up by an edict of the emperor, which had just arrived, and of which we procured a copy soon after. This strange and characteristic document was worded as follows, and the caution concerning our rambles explained the adventure above mentioned. After commenting on the occurrences at Yuenmingyuen, and blaming the conduct of Duke Ho, as the cause of the embassy's departure, the emperor proceeds to say—

"I, considering that the said nation had sent a tribute of sincere and entire devotedness from beyond a vast ocean at the distance of thousands of miles,

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could not bear to reject altogether their expressions of veneration and obedience; hence I transmitted my pleasure, requiring that the most trifling articles of tribute should be presented, and the kindness of receiving them conferred. They consisted of maps, painted portraits, and prints—three classes of objects.* At the same time I conferred upon the king of the said country a *joo-y* of white jade, sapphire court beads, and purses of different sizes, to manifest an example of 'giving much and taking little.' The ambassador received them at *Tung-chow* with extreme joy and gratitude, and also rather showed by his manner contrition and fear.†

"Of late within the province of *Pe-che-ly* he has walked about very peaceably and quietly. Hereafter, when he shall enter the limits of the Keang provinces, let the viceroy enjoin on all the officers who conduct the embassy to behave with the civilities due to an ambassador. They must not allow themselves to treat him with insult or contempt.

"The ambassador will arrive shortly at the fore-mentioned boundaries. The three provinces, *Keang-soo*, *Ganhoey*, and *Keang-sy* are under the control of the appropriate viceroy. Let that viceroy communicate information to the several deputy-governors of those provinces. When the embassy enters his limits, let him select civil and military officers, who must take under their command soldiers and police to conduct everything safely. *Do not cause the persons of the embassy to land and create disturbance.*

"Through the whole route let the military all have their armour fresh and shining, and their weapons disposed in a commanding manner, to maintain an attitude formidable and majestic. The said nation

* Setting the insolence of this document aside, there was good taste in selecting those among the intended presents which were not of the greatest intrinsic value.

† This is the emperor's account of the transaction at p. 93, and a specimen of the truth to be expected in negotiation.

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came with the intention of offering tribute; still treat it with civility, and cause it silently to feel gratitude and awe; then the right principles of soothing and controlling will be acted on."

There was nothing remarkable in this, as a Chinese paper, on the score of arrogance; but the falsehoods were most gross. The directions to the viceroy, requiring that the soldiers should make their most formidable appearance, in order that we might be overcome by feelings of awe, rather showed that his majesty had some apprehensions of the future. A proposal had once been made that a letter should be written by the ambassador, thanking the emperor for the favours we had experienced *en route;* but this would undoubtedly have been one of the most impolitic measures in the world, and quite inconsistent with the general aspect of silent reserve that had hitherto been maintained. Knowing, as the emperor must, that in dismissing the mission from Peking with such insult and precipitation, he did a thing grossly unjustifiable, it was likely that feelings either of justice or apprehension might incline him to repair the act. Had we sent him an abject address, he would inevitably have taken it for granted that we were perfectly satisfied with the treatment we had received, and really felt that fear and awe which his majesty so ignorantly imputed to us.

At length our long stay in the neighbourhood of *Kwa-chow*, where we had exhausted the various objects of curiosity, was concluded by a light though favourable breeze which sprung up early on the morning of the 19th of October, and we found ourselves launched on the *Yang-tse-keang*, "the son of the sea." After sailing for some time nearly due west, we came to a large island, dividing the river into two nearly equal streams, of which we took the northernmost. As there was a pretty strong stream running against our squadron, and but a light wind in our favour, the trackers and rowers had a very hard day's work of it; our departure from *Kwa-chow* having been hurried,

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by the fears of our conductors, under rather unpropitious circumstances.

The dull uniformity of the great island which we were passing on the left, covered as it was with reeds and high grass, was relieved by some lofty and picturesque mountains to the south-west. Our whole day's progress did not amount to twenty miles, and we anchored at a place near the town of *Y-ching-Hien*, distinguished by a pagoda. The most remarkable objects that struck us here were some enormously large salt-junks of a very singular shape, approaching to a crescent, with sterns at least thirty feet above the water, and bows that were two-thirds of that height. They had "bright sides," that is, were varnished over the natural wood without painting, a very common style in China.

After waiting a whole day for a favourable wind to stem the stream of the Yang-tse-keang, the breeze freshened on the 20th in our favour, and we steered for the middle of the river, where our whole squadron of boats made way at the rate of four or five miles an hour. The great number of vessels in full sail scattered over the broad expanse of that fine river, had an animating effect. We were informed that on the following day we should be close to the ancient city of Nanking, and that the viceroy of the two Keang provinces would meet our embassy. This mandarin's hostile feelings to the English, when governor of Canton, led us to expect very little from him in the way of civility.

Early on the morning of the 21st we found ourselves anchored on the shore to our left, near a high rock, and at seven o'clock the viceroy arrived at the boat of the legate. The latter was observed to advance some way out to meet him, but he was in his undress; while the viceroy wore his habit of ceremony, like an inferior calling on his superior. Had we needed any further proof, this was conclusive that any mandarin bearing a special commission from the emperor, and entitled a *Kinchae*, takes rank of every other, and t'

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the grade of the ball on the cap has nothing to do in such cases.

Some presents of provisions and sweetmeats afterwards came for the ambassador, commissioners, and suite; upon which various articles were returned on the part of the embassy. An attempt was made to send back these with a sort of joking message from the viceroy; but as the rejection of presents was an act of rudeness quite inadmissible according to Chinese notions, a message was instantly returned by the ambassador to say, that if those things were not received, the viceroy's presents should be sent back in like manner; which had the proper effect.

His lordship sent his card to the viceroy, which according to the caprice of Chinese etiquette was immediately *returned*, implying that the person so honoured is unworthy to retain it. A message, however, accompanied this to the effect that, the wind having just sprung up fair for our boats, he would not detain the embassy with a visit. The plea was nothing but an excuse for his want of civility in not exchanging visits with his lordship, whom it was plain he did not wish to meet.

While the Chinese were carrying on their ceremonial forms, we were not altogether without ours. This being the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar, the marines of the guard, a very fine body of picked men, were turned out to be inspected by the ambassador.

This military demonstration produced an amazing commotion among our Chinese friends. The whole fry of mandarins, great and small, were on the *qui vive*, and bustled down to the scene of action. The city of Nanking seemed in danger, and General *Wong* himself hurried, in considerable perturbation, to ask the reason of so unusual an event. Great astonishment was depicted on the countenances of the whole party as the men marched past in double file, *fulgentibus armis*.

Our boats were anchored at the foot of a high rock

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called "*Yen-tse Shan*," or the "swallow's promontory," from the top of which we obtained a very pretty view of the surrounding country and the course of the river, which was here divided into two streams by a low reedy island of considerable extent, opposite to which our squadron had stopped. When the review of the guard was concluded, we left our anchorage, and proceeded along a very picturesque part of the river until about six o'clock in the evening, when we reached the suburbs of the outer wall of Nanking on the north side. An unusually long line of soldiers was drawn out, dressed in their armour, or petticoat of cloth studded with brass buttons, which is probably intended to resist arrows, for it certainly would resist nothing else. They produced a good theatrical effect, with something of the starch stiffness of the old pictures of men in armour. The only part of their dress that could really be called by that name was the long conical helmet of iron, with a spear at the point, and a tuft of red horsehair.

As the wind continued unfavourable, a party of us set out early on the 22nd to explore within the walls of the ancient capital of China, and we met with no opposition, notwithstanding the late edict from Peking. The comparative liberty which we subsequently enjoyed was to be attributed to the firmness of the ambassador in resisting an attempt to shut the gates upon him as he was entering them this day, during a walk on shore; and we were glad to observe a marked improvement in the behaviour of our conductors, as the consequence of this little adventure.

On entering within the wall, we walked to the top of a very high hill, from whence we could plainly see at a distance the inhabited part of the city and the famous porcelain tower, which, however, is porcelain in nothing but the tiles with which it is faced. The larger portion of the area within the wall, though no doubt thickly inhabited when this was the residence of the emperor, is now a mere waste, or laid out in

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gardens of vegetables, with occasional clumps of trees. The space enclosed is more irregular in shape than almost any other city of China, no doubt owing to the inequality of the surface; as the northern part, where we were, is composed in a great measure of lofty hills.

In the small proportion which the inhabited part bears to the whole area of the ancient walls, Nanking bears a striking resemblance to modern Rome; though the walls of Nanking are not only much higher, but more extensive, being about twenty miles in circuit. The *unpeopled* areas of both these ancient cities are alike, in as far as they consist of hills, and remains of paved roads, and scattered cultivation; but the gigantic masses of ruin which distinguish modern Rome are wanting in Nanking, since nothing in Chinese architecture is lasting, except the walls of their cities. As I stood at Rome on the Cœlian mount in 1837, the resemblance of its deserted hills (setting apart the black masses of ruin) to those of Nanking struck me at once, bounded as they are in both instances by an old wall.

The modern town of Nanking covers less than a half of the immense enceinte of its walls, and being at the southern extremity of the long-shaped plan on which these are built, was the furthest removed from us, who were at the northern. In the course of our stay, some of the party walked as far as the modern city without interruption, but were deterred from entering by the immense crowds which came pouring out to view the strangers. The suburb on the outside of the gate nearest to our boats was well built and populous. Two large temples particularly deserved our notice. One of these, the handsomest I had ever seen in China, contained three huge bronze vases or censers of really elegant forms and fine workmanship. Round the rims of these were inscriptions, showing that they had been made in the reign of *Hoonghy*, of the Ming dynasty, and presented to the temple by the

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person who travelled over a large portion of India with the purpose of inviting the different nations to send tribute.

Nanking is not precisely situated on the Keang, but about three English miles from it, though a communication exists with the south of the city by a canal. All the ancient palaces, observatories, temples, and sepulchres were destroyed by the Tartars. The existing city, however fallen from its former state, is as large and populous as most other provincial capitals, and forms the residence of the first viceroy of the empire, the governor-general of the two Keang provinces. It is celebrated as a seat of Chinese learning, and sends more members to the imperial college of Peking than any other city. The books, the paper, and the printing of Nanking are celebrated through the country as being unrivalled. The best Chinese (called by us *Indian*) ink is manufactured, not here, but at another city of the same province, named *Hoey-chow-foo*, and the moulds in which the finer kind is cast, or dried, are made to assume every possible shape. A box of these, elegantly fitted up with silk, forms a very pretty present. The silks, the teas, and various other products of this province render it the most valuable part of the whole empire; and its climate is excellent. The famous pirate who so long possessed the island of Formosa in the early period of the present Tartar dynasty, sailed up to Nanking, which he besieged.

We were detained in this neighbourhood, much against the will of the legate, by a contrary wind, which, though not violent, prevented them from attempting to stem the stream of the *Keang*. On the morning of the 24th of October, the wind being rather more favourable, we set sail from the suburbs of Nanking, but had not proceeded above seven or eight miles before we were brought up at the side of a large island covered with tall grass and reeds as much as eighteen feet high, which the Chinese were cutting down for fuel, or for repairing the bank-

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the canal. Here we were again detained, and probably came thus far only because the legate thought we were too near to the ancient city.

In our progress to this spot we were at one time more close to the city itself than at our last anchorage. The porcelain pagoda was very conspicuous; I counted seven out of its nine stories above the roofs of a temple to which it appears to be contiguous. The canal, which leads from the great river to the inhabited part of the city, could easily be traced as far as the walls, and is probably one of the chief causes of this portion of Nanking having retained its population while the rest is abandoned. I walked to the other end of our island, where the stream again unites with the main river. We were told that the whole of these reedy tracts are flooded in the spring. Small portions are divided out, and let to persons who cut down the reeds and sell them for fuel and other purposes. The produce of this farming goes to the government.

The legate paid a long visit to his excellency, and proved more loquacious than usual. He entered into a detail of all the restraints imposed by his high station upon the emperor while in public—a detail which proved that the autocrat of so many millions was not to be envied. He cannot even lean back on his seat, nor use a fan to cool himself, like all his subjects of both sexes; and is sometimes subjected to these painful demands of ceremony for a whole day. I once obtained from Padre Serra, a Catholic priest, who had passed many years in the neighbourhood of the palace, a particular account of the daily habits of *Keaking*, the father of the present reigning emperor (1840). When the public ceremonies were over, he retired to play on instruments and sing with his comedians, thus displaying a curious contrast between his private and his state demeanour. After this he sometimes drank to intoxication, and at night proceeded with some of his players, masked, to the seraglio. These things excited a remonstrance from the faithful

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minister and censor, *Soong Tajin*, who was only disgraced for his interference.

We were in motion on the morning of the 26th, with a fairer prospect of getting on than since we had entered the Keang. Hereabouts the magnificent stream appeared in its full dimensions, and asserted its claim to be the third river in the whole world, after the Amazons and the Mississippi. The breadth was fully three miles, or perhaps nearer four; and as the river is much narrower than this at *Kwa-chow*, or the entrance of the canal lower down the stream, it is reasonable to conclude that from that point to its mouth the depth must be very great. Indeed it is a common Chinese saying, that the "Keang has no bottom," which is a mere exaggeration of its great depth.

We observed considerable plantations of the common cotton shrub, but looked in vain for the brown cotton, of which the *Nankeen* is made, and which is quite a different plant. The wind on the 27th was so unfavourable that it forced us to stop about four miles from *Ho-chow*, which lay at that distance from the shore to our right, but with a navigable stream conducting to the main river. So well do the Chinese understand the value of water-communication, and so singularly is the whole country provided with it by the two great rivers and their tributaries, that scarcely any town of consequence is without a river or canal.

While the wind detained us here, a party of us set out to explore the town of *Ho-chow*, to which the road conducted along the bank of the stream before mentioned. The town was surrounded with walls in pretty good repair, and appeared populous. It had several *Pae-lows*, or honorary gateways; but these looked old and ruinous, and seemed to indicate that the place had seen better days. On the return to the boats, one of the party bargained with an old woman for a milch goat, for which he gave her two dollars; and the conveying the animal to her new destination

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proved a source of some fun to the natives as well as ourselves.

We left the vicinity of *Ho-chow* early on the 29th, but the wind was too light, and too far to the southward, to admit of much progress. Our unfortunate boatmen were obliged to approach the shore, and to pole us along against the stream with immense toil. Their joy must have been great when about three o'clock the wind shifted to easterly, and carried us along very fast. To estimate duly the advantages of steam-vessels, it is necessary to have crawled along the banks of Chinese rivers by poling and tracking.

Our boat and that of the legate being a-head of the fleet, we arrived early in the evening at *Se-leang Shan*, a remarkably steep hill, which forms with a corresponding elevation on the opposite shore, named *Tung-leang Shan*, the *Gades* of the Yang-tse-keang, as implied by the names "eastern and western *Pillar* hills." We had time to ascend the romantic rock before it was dark. The sides were nearly perpendicular, and the ascent to the top by stone steps, in a zig-zag approach. About halfway up was a temple with images; and on the sides we observed sentences which had been inscribed in large characters by visitors of the place.

From the top of the rock, a height of nearly five hundred feet, we obtained a fine view of the course of the Keang flowing between two lines of mountains, as well as of the town below, which was well built and paved, and seemed to owe its existence to the celebrity of the rock as a resort for visitors. The legate had mentioned this place to Lord Amherst as well worth his seeing; but no other boats being up before dark, our party alone obtained a sight of it, for we were all away again by daylight.

The strength of the stream and the want of wind obliged us at mid-day to stop only about ten miles from our last halting-place, at a very considerable town called *Woohoo Hien*, the largest of its class in

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China. The streets proved on inspection to be superior to those of many of the first-class cities; and some were as large and as well furnished with handsome shops as at Canton. It is to the great inland commerce carried on by this town that such unusual wealth and prosperity is to be referred. We observed, for the first time, bales of cloth with the East India Company's mark upon them. These had evidently made their way inland to this place, a distance of about six hundred miles from Canton, without being opened, and with the security of the stamp affixed to them.

We first made our way to a pagoda on the summit of a hill about two miles distant, and met with several temples in our route, one of which was dedicated to *Kwân-ty*, the tutelary Mars of China, worshipped by the military. The temple attached to the pagoda was, as usual, of the Budhist religion, and contained the triad of Fŏ, with the attendant saints and divinities. On our return we entered the city at one of its principal gates, and walked straight through it to our boats. The shops of porcelain were particularly handsome and well-stocked, in consequence of its vicinity to the chief places of manufacture in the adjoining province of Keangsy, which we were now approaching.

We proceeded on the 31st with a north-west wind, and contrived to make considerable progress, until, at a place where our course branched off from the main stream of the Keang, the clumsiness of the steersman ran our boat aground on the lee bank, and we remained there for half an hour, while all the boats passed us in succession. At eight o'clock in the evening we reached a place called *Teih Keang*, about one hundred *ly* from our last halting-place, being thirty miles, an unusual day's journey in our slow mode of travelling. The houses here were many of them built into the river on piles, either for the sake of gaining space, or for the convenience of embarkation. The change of season was strongly indi-

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cated by the thermometer, which fell to nearly fifty in our boats, as well as by immense flights of wild-geese, which really darkened the sky as they were shifting their quarters to a southern climate.

The emperor's desire to get rid of us by the shortest road was the fortunate occasion of our navigating this portion of the *Yang-tse-keang* between the canal and the *Poyang* lake, instead of following Lord Macartney's route along the remainder of the canal. After travelling through the swamps of *Shantung*, and the north of *Keangnân*, we were now in a climate and country which could yield to none in the whole world, and was equalled by very few. Here we met with English trees and plants in abundance, as the oak, the green-holly, wild pinks, violets, and the common bramble or blackberry, &c. The landscape, consisting of the finest combination of hill and dale, with very high mountains in the distance, was variegated in the most beautiful manner with the red and yellow tints of autumn.

The brightest of all were exhibited in the changing foliage of the tallow-tree, which was here observed for the first time, being grown in great plenty for the sake of its berries, the seed of which is surrounded by a vegetable grease that has just the consistence of tallow, and is used for the same purposes. The clusters of the milk-white berry, contrasted with the bright red foliage, had a particularly fine effect. The country near us was richly cultivated with buckwheat, and a variety of culinary vegetables.

His imperial majesty's wish to hasten the progress of his English visitors was grievously frustrated by the obstinate contrariety of the winds, which at this time generally blow pretty strong from the northward, but which ever since our entry into the Keang had baffled our progress in such a manner, that we were now only halfway to the Poyang lake from Nanking, after the lapse of about a fortnight. Nothing however could surpass the fineness of the weather, or the beauty and interest of the country;

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and we had now established a system of rambling excursions in which our Chinese conductors silently acquiesced, seeing it was better to do so quietly; and finding, perhaps, by experience, that the wild beasts were not quite so mischievous as they had given them credit for.

As early as nine o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of November, we were surprised to find the whole fleet come to an anchor at a considerable town called *Tung-ling Hien*, with the general understanding that we were to pass the whole day here. My party, as usual, set off on a ramble through the town into the country on the opposite side. In the course of an hour, however, the wind became fair, and the boats prepared to sail. Not knowing of this, we walked on without any thought of returning, until we had extended our excursion to about two hours, when some Chinese soldiers came hallooing and announcing the departure of the fleet. Some of our own people presently came up in search of us, and our party did not reach the boats until half-past one, after a walk of at least twelve miles.

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CHAPTER XII.

On the morning of the 3rd of November we found ourselves anchored at a village called *Ta-tung-chin*, well furnished with shops, and supplied abundantly with provisions of all kinds. The wind being southerly, with a strong stream against us, no possibility appeared of our continuing the journey for the present; and we took advantage of the delay, as usual, to explore the country in the neighbourhood. Having soon made our way through the town, which was on the south-eastern side of the river, we entered on the open country, in all its beautiful features closely resembling that of *Tung-ling Hien*, with some very high hills at the distance of several miles.

The country people expressed by their looks the utmost surprise at the sight of such strange and unexpected visitors; but their behaviour was quiet and respectful, and, if we required assistance or information, always obliging. These long walks were a never-failing source of amusement as well as health, during our frequent halts on account of the wind. The day following our arrival at Ta-tung-chin, the excursion extended to a circuit of about twelve miles, towards the foot of the high ridge of hills lying between us and *Tung-ling Hien*. On the third day of our sojourn we left the boats at one o'clock in the afternoon, and were not back until near seven, having gone over a space of at least fifteen or sixteen miles.

The course was at first along a regular pathway from the town, partly paved with broad stones, until we reached a village at the foot of the high hills which it was intended to ascend. In our way we came, for the first time, to some small tea plantations,

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being now within the latitudes in which the shrub flourishes. The quantity cultivated was still inconsiderable, compared with the vast tracts of country covered with the tea-plant in the south-eastern parts of *Keang-nân*, and in *Chĕ-keang* and *Fo-kien* provinces.

In the same valley we discovered a new and curious species of oak, unknown to our naturalists, and likewise observed that the mulberry was extensively cultivated. On ascending one of the lofty hills of the range, a very fine prospect was afforded of the surrounding country and the course of the river. The whole surface of these picturesque mountains was covered with a vast variety of shrubs and plants, many of the latter aromatic, and among the rest the wild thyme very abundant. It was the Chinese Hymettus, but the weather was too cold for bees.

On the 5th of November we were still at our anchorage near the town, on the south-eastern bank of the Keang, and lying close to the dirtiest portion of the peopled district. A remonstrance addressed to the legate on the part of the ambassador succeeded in effecting the removal of our boats to the opposite side of the river, where we anchored at one of the large islands that so frequently divide the waters of the great Keang. The situation was close to a range of trees, extending to a considerable distance, and partly concealing the well-cultivated fields of kitchen herbs which lay behind, and looked beautifully fresh and green.

Until early on the morning of the 6th it rained very hard; and our discomfort was completed by the discovery that our boat leaked in all parts of the roof, thus exemplifying the Chinese notion of accumulated miseries, which they express by the phrase, "a leaky house on a rainy night." In the afternoon the weather cleared up, and a party of us crossed over from our island to the opposite shore, walking along the side of the river towards *Tung-ling Hien*. At the distance of about four miles from our anchorage, we reached the bottom of a high hill, and ascended

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long flight of steps, terminating in a temple at the very summit. The Chinese seem to have a double motive for placing their religious edifices in such elevated situations. The seclusion and retirement of such sites is an obvious reason for their being selected; and to this may be added the picturesque and romantic character which is thereby given to the buildings, joined to the merit of overcoming difficulties in transporting the materials to such unusual heights. The wind became fair for us in the evening, but we did not take advantage of it.

On the morning of the 7th it blew strong from the north-east, and we set sail as early as five o'clock. Never before had we gone so fast on the *Keang*, for before one o'clock we arrived at *Woo-sha-kea*, distant one hundred ly from *Ta-tung-chin*. The name of this place signifies "Black-sand branch,"—*kea* meaning any part of a river where the stream divides into two, to compass an island in the middle. As we were about to enter again on the main stream at this point, our Chinese conductors thought it necessary to remain until the wind moderated, conceiving it too dangerous to proceed along the open breadth of the Keang while it blew so fresh.

Nothing was more surprising to me than the difference between the Chinese sailors of Canton and their "longshore" brethren of the *Yang-tse-keang*, who in their clumsiness and timidity answer to the descriptions of the Greek mariners on the Euxine. The boats were almost as different as the boatmen; for while the Canton vessels are strongly built and capable of buffeting with the waves, the great square boxes, clamped with iron at the corners, in which we were at present embarked, seemed really to justify the apprehension of their conductors. This extraordinary difference may partly be ascribed to the habit of sailing on the sea, to which the Canton Chinese are accustomed, and partly, perhaps, to the example of Europeans at that place.

As soon as the boats came to an anchor at the island,

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we crossed over to the south bank of the river, and took a long circuitous ramble through the beautiful undulating country, of which the hills were planted with fine timber of various kinds, including the oak and a species of sycamore, while the valleys seemed cultivated with rice, buckwheat, and the ginger plant. A husbandman, who was breaking the clods of earth on newly-ploughed land by means of a harrow, stood erect upon the machine to add weight to it, and thus guided the buffalo.

November 8th.—The wind being too strong for our clumsy craft and lubberly sailors to proceed on the voyage, we passed our time in examining and exploring the large island at which the squadron was anchored. This was so extensive as to occupy the greater portion of the day in performing the circuit. The scattered farm-houses argued considerable comfort on the part of the inhabitants, who were farmers cultivating the different patches laid out in rice, cotton, and grain, notwithstanding that the low level of the island exposed it frequently to inundation—which, however, would agree very well with the rice, however unfriendly to other products. Our party were interested in observing the formalities of a funeral at one of the farm-houses, the Chinese mourning colour (*white*) being displayed by the relations and mourners, with the attendance of Budhist priests, and music of a harsh sound. The temperature was cold for such a latitude (30½ degrees) in the month of November—the thermometer within our boats descended to 54 degrees.

Early on the morning of the 9th we left *Woo-sha-kea* with a light fair breeze, and made very good progress during the day (about one hundred ly), reaching our anchorage on the further or western side of the city of *Ganking Foo* about four o'clock in the evening. This is a large and important town, the capital of the southern division of *Keang-nân* province, and the residence of a Foo-yuen. On approaching the eastern suburb of the city, we perceived a very long single rank of

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soldiers, in their petticoat armour, drawn out to the number of nearly five hundred. With their helmets, flags, and other appurtenances, they made, as usual, a good theatrical show; and against Chinese rebels or robbers were probably invincible.

Having admired these gentry, we made our boatmen approach the shore, and sallied forth to explore the city, which we entered at the eastern gate, nearest the water, and proceeded directly through the town, in a westerly direction, to meet our boats at their anchorage beyond the western suburb. The streets were as narrow as I had ever seen them in a Chinese city, nor were the shops very splendid; but many good dwelling-houses presented themselves—or rather their courts and gateways, for no gentleman's house in China ever adjoins the street.

The foo-yuen's or governor's palace we at first took for a temple, but were soon undeceived by the inscriptions on the huge lanterns at each side of the gateway in front of the great open court. These official residences seldom display any magnificence. The pride of a Chinese mandarin of rank consists in his power and station; and as the display of mere wealth attracts little respect, it is neglected more than in any country of the world. On particular family festivals, as marriages, funerals, and the like, considerable sums are expended.

The best shops that we saw were those for the sale of horn lanterns and porcelain. They possess the art of softening horn by the application of a very high degree of moist heat, and extending it into thin laminæ of any shape, either flat or globular. The lamps constructed of this substance are about as transparent as ground glass, and ornamented with silken hangings, which give them a handsome effect.

The porcelain in the shops was of the finest kind, arguing our gradual approach to the neighbourhood where it is produced. Among other things we purchased some of the Chinese fashioned tea-cups with ›vers, unusually elegant, both as regarded the mate-

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rial and the painting. The price was naturally very low in comparison with the sale-value of these things at Canton. In making our purchases we were excessively annoyed by the importunate curiosity of the crowd, consisting of the very *canaille* of this large Chinese city. They evinced a greater disposition to hallooing and other rudeness than we had yet observed; and I was prepared to see this increase as we approached Canton.

We made the complete *trajet* of the town, and issued out at one of the western gates, glad to reach our boats after a somewhat long and boisterous excursion. A good deal of visiting was observed to be going on between our legate and the district mandarins. No communications, however, took place between the Chinese authorities and the ambassador. It was a very fortunate circumstance for us, that the indispensable intercourse of business or ceremony between our chief conductor and the officers of the cities and towns passed by us, made these occasional sojourns at the different places a matter of necessity; for I am persuaded that to no other than this did we owe the very frequent and interesting opportunities of observation presented to us during the journey. Could they have blinded and handcuffed us all the way, it would have been infinitely more agreeable to our Chinese friends than the liberty which we possessed.

Left *Ganking Foo* at an early hour on the morning of the 10th, and after the best day's run since we had entered China (a hundred and twenty-five ly, or forty miles), reached a place called *Hwa-yuen Chin*, "the flower-garden station," in the evening. On our way we passed *Tung-lew Hien* on our left, a walled city of the third class, but containing within its extensive enceinte fewer streets than fields and gardens. The most populous part of the place was on the outside of the walls, between them and the river, along the sides of a creek or stream communicating with the Keang. It is probable that the severe municipal regulations in the interior of Chinese cities may induce a number of

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persons to prefer erecting their dwellings or shops on the outside of the walls. At least we had frequently observed the same indications throughout the empire.

It rained a little, with a dark gloomy November sky, soon after our arrival at *Hwa-yuen Chin;* but we made an excursion along the side of the river to a small wood, consisting principally of green hollies, where several of the younger members of the party trespassed so far on the lord of the manor of *Hwa-yuen Chin* as to cut themselves some walking-sticks. On the following morning a reason truly original and Chinese was given for the boats staying another day at this anchorage—because it rained. It is probable, however, that they were deterred from proceeding by the lowering and windy state of the sky, although nothing eventually came of it.

The 11th November was doomed to be a black day in our calendar. The rain poured incessantly on our leaky roofs; and an unfortunate catastrophe in the evening proved the crowning disaster, being the only fatal accident that occurred to the embassy in China. A soldier of the ambassador's guard, as he was passing along the gangway-board at the side of the boat, fell into the water and disappeared, being drawn under by the current. Every exertion was made to find and save him, but with no effect; until the boats having been moved the body came up, though much too late to restore life. A message was sent to the legate, requesting that we might not start in the morning until after the funeral, which met with a ready assent; and the mandarins showed great alacrity in providing a coffin and all things suitable.

At nine on the following morning the guard was turned out, and most of the members of the mission followed the body of their poor countryman to his solitary grave in the centre of China. On arriving at the place of interment, near the Chinese guard-house, the chaplain read the funeral service, at the conclusion of which the comrades of the deceased soldier fired three volleys of musketry over his remains.

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Here the Chinese paid a pretty mark of respect on their own part, and one which, being quite unexpected, came with the better effect. After the volleys from the guard were concluded, they fired off three small pieces, and a band of music struck up one of their funeral airs. This was evidently intended to imitate and to second our own ceremony.

On the return of the party to our boats, the whole squadron set sail, and proceeded along one of the branches of the river, which was divided by a long island into two streams. Towards the evening we approached a very singular rock, famous among the Chinese under the name of *Seaou Koo-shan*, the "Little Orphan (or Solitary) Hill," rising precipitously from the water to the height of between two and three hundred feet. It appeared inaccessible in all points except one, and here the Budhist priests had contrived to erect some of their temples on terraces rising one above the other, in a most uncommon and picturesque manner. Presently we perceived some of these mendicant gentry afloat in a small boat, ready to board our barges in search of donations. They were very thankful for the gift of a dollar or two, and presented books in which we recorded our names in both Chinese and English,—relics which would no doubt remain in the archives of the temple as rare curiosities.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature was the countless swarm of pelicans, closely resembling the fishing bird of the country, which absolutely darkened with their numbers the summit and sides of the rock. It is here that they probably breed; while they find their subsistence in the waters of the great river which flows round the base of this vast stone pillar. The larger number of these aquatic birds adhered to the face of the precipitous rock, or stood upon its ledges; others were soaring about the summit, and added very much to the interest and life of the scene.

We had now entered the limits of the province

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Keangsy; and the first town that we passed, by name *Peng-tsé Hien*, was in point of situation the most remarkable of any that had yet been seen. This city of the third order lay on our left, and might be described as nestled in a romantic valley or basin formed by the lofty hills surrounding it. Nearly the whole of the built and inhabited part was in this valley, but the walls themselves surrounded a much larger area, running up the ridges and over the summits of the hills at the sides and back of the town; while the front or water line ran horizontally across the valley, looking towards the river. A very good Chinese drawing, in fair perspective, of this singular place is possessed by the author.

The weather became extremely thick and boisterous, but our squadron nevertheless proceeded, and some of the boats with much difficulty reached *Kinkang-leaou*, our destined resting-place, being a village of small note at the mouth of a creek on the north bank of the river. Many of our companions did not reach the anchorage until the following morning; and one of the boats, having been driven from shore with only two of the crew on board, ran a narrow risk of being wrecked on the "little orphan rock." The passengers and their servants were obliged to turn out and provide for their safety by personal exertions.

The wind continued so unfavourable and stormy that we passed the 13th of November at this anchorage, the Chinese stating it to be about sixty ly, or less than twenty miles, distant from the mouth of the *Poyang* lake, which we were now nearly approaching. We became naturally anxious to see this famous feature of the Chinese empire, which, though seventy miles in length, is only the second lake in point of size, and yields considerably in extent to the *Tong ting hoo*, in the province of *Hoo-kwong*. I had a printed Chinese itinerary, which, in its account of distances, varied materially from the accounts of the mandarins. It was to be expected, however, that travellers on

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such a river as the *Yang-tse-keang* could not calculate their distances with the same nicety as upon a turnpike road in Europe.

Kwong visited the ambassador, and expressed the anxieties that he had experienced during the late stormy weather, especially in reference to the boat with two of our companions so nearly wrecked. There was no difficulty in believing the *Kinchae* to be sincere in his professions, as it is pretty certain that any serious catastrophe, involving a number of the members of the mission, would be visited upon him with severity by the emperor, according to the unflinching system of responsibility which so strongly marks the Chinese government. The legate stated that an official report had been received of the safe arrival of all the ships of the embassy at Canton.

On the 14th of November we set sail early in the morning towards the *Poyang* lake, which was not twenty miles distant. On the bold and hilly shore to the left we passed *Hookow-Hien*, or "the city of the lake's mouth," embosomed in high hills in a manner not unlike *Peng-tsĕ Hien*, already described. This town is at the very entrance of the Poyang, as its name imports. Here, after little less than a month's protracted but not tedious journey, we quitted the magnificent *Yang-tse-keang*, nearly four hundred miles from its mouth, but still two thousand miles short of its source! It is upwards of fifteen times longer than the river Thames, and bears about the same proportion to it that the territory of China bears to that of England and Scotland.

We had found its sides composed of the most beautiful country lying in the finest climate, and planted with numerous and flourishing cities. Being the first Englishmen who had ever navigated its stream, and probably the last who for a long period of years would be able to do so, the abundant leisure and opportunities afforded by our frequent halts had been employed agreeably, and perhaps not unprofitably, in strict accordance with the precept of the

English poet, who says, with reference to our own Thames,—

"Search not its bottom, but survey its shore."

We sailed into the lake by the channel (about a mile in width) through which it discharges its waters into the Keang. When this had been passed, the first prominent object was the *Ta-koo-shân*, or "great solitary rock," rising out of the midst of the waters. In point of size, this rather exceeded the *Seaou-koo-shân*, previously passed, but it was inferior in irregularity of shape and general effect. The accessible portions of the sides and the summit were occupied, as before, by temples and the dwellings of the priests. When the progress of our boats gave us a view from the south-west, at the distance of about three miles, the rock assumed a longer and flatter shape, not unlike a high shoe, and for this reason it is also called *Heae-shân* ("the shoe rock") by the Chinese.

The Poyang does not possess that clearness of water so frequently observable in large lakes from the subsidence and deposition of the soil previously held in suspension. So many troubled streams pour into it on all sides, from the mountainous country around, that there is not time for this operation; besides which, it is probable that the bottom of the lake is not very deep. At noon we reached *Takoo-tâng*, a town situated within a deep bay, formed between what might be called the main land and a small peninsula, jutting out like a breakwater into the lake.

The mountains inland to the westward rose gradually to a great height, until the most distant were capped with clouds, and could not be less than five thousand feet above the level of the lake. This range is called the *Leu-shân*, and is one of the most celebrated in China, for reasons which will presently appear, independent of its great natural beauties. Our first excursion was a walk towards these, crossing over from the little peninsula on a sandy isthmus just broad enough to allow of a good pathway. We suc-

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ceeded in reaching the top of the range of hills next in height to the Leu-shân, though still greatly inferior, and thence had a noble view of the lake and the surrounding country. These hills were covered with earth to the very top, but yet uncultivated. The vast variety of herbs which grew upon them were, almost without exception, strongly aromatic. A beautiful species of bright laurel-leaved oak, and the sycamore, were the trees principally observed.

The rainy and unsettled weather on the 15th of November prevented our boats leaving their safe anchorage in the bay, to tempt the waters of the lake. Our crews spent the interval in their noisy sacrifices with the gong, which accompanied the slaughter of a cock, and the burning of much tinsel paper, with a view to securing a favourable and safe passage through the dangers. The rain did not prevent our exploring the town of *Takoo-tâng*, where we found many porcelain shops, and made some advantageous purchases. The abundance of this manufacture in the neighbourhood was indicated by the mandarins, our conductors, sending to the ambassador and commissioners a present of forty or fifty tea-cups each.

We left our anchorage at ten o'clock on the following morning, when the weather had cleared up, and proceeded towards *Nankang-foo*, on the western shore of the lake. This inland sea had not as yet appeared to us very remarkable for its breadth; but they informed us that we had not reached the broadest part, which extends to the southward of *Nankang-foo*. We arrived at this city early in the day, and anchored near a mole built along the south-eastern side of the town, forming a small harbour for boats to lie in, secure from the tempestuous waters of the lake in bad weather. Sufficient swell existed, as it was, to make it resemble an arm of the sea, and the shore was covered with shingles in the manner of a beach.

Immediately on our arrival a party proceeded to walk through the town. The walls were new, and

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appeared to have been lately built or repaired; but the town, strange to say, was completely desolate within. The shops were not so good as at the little town where we had lately stopped, and a very large portion of the area within the walls consisted of fields. The only decorations were a considerable number of stone *paelows*, or honorary gateways, on which the carved relief was remarkably bold, and contained representations of ancient historical events in well-executed work.

The inscriptions on some of these proved them to have existed between two and three hundred years, from the solid material of their construction, very unlike the wooden gateways of the same kind which we had often seen elsewhere. The town must at some former period have been an important and flourishing place, in connexion with the literary and classical recollections of the *Leu-shân* in the immediate neighbourhood, which will presently be noticed. We were much amused to find the customary prohibitions addressed to the people, forbidding them to communicate with us, converted at this place into four verses of seven syllables, and thus pasted up on the walls. It was probably intended that this *song of non-intercourse* should be committed to memory.

As nothing more of interest existed within the town, we went through it to the opposite side, and pursued our walk in the direction of the lofty range of the *Leu-shân*, some of whose highest peaks were evidently covered with snow-drifts. Keeping a very fine and conspicuous waterfall in view, we reached the bottom of the range, and observed that the rocks were of the primitive kinds. The lateness of the hour compelled us to return sooner than we wished, but with a determination to renew the attempt to ascend at an early hour on the following day, if still at our anchorage.

The beauty and sublimity of these mountains, combined with other associations, has rendered them the

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frequent subject of poetical celebration. The following lines are literally translated from some verses written by a Chinese who had ascended to the top:—

"Yonder falls a precipitous cascade of three thousand feet;
Here the hibiscus shades every rising summit;
The mountain touches the sky and separates the orbs;
The drifting snows fly amidst the thunder.
I am like a white bird among the clouds;
I insult the winds and invade the profound abyss.
As I turn and look down on each neighbouring province,
The evening smoke of the dwellings appears in blue specks."

A southerly wind fortunately prevented our moving on the 17th, and we accordingly set out in a large party with the intention of reaching the mountains, and ascending them. Four miles of the distance were accomplished before we seemed to be more than halfway, at which some were so far dispirited as to content themselves with surveying the country from an insulated hill in the neighbourhood, and then returning towards the boats. Others of us, less fatigued or more enterprising, augmented our speed with the determination of scaling the heights.

Seeing a pagoda perched up at the elevation of many hundred feet near the waterfall, we made that our mark, and fortunately discovered a regular pathway up one of the ravines. As the increasing elevation changed the climate, we gradually observed the plants and trees which are found in a natural state in England. Slate appeared to be a principal constituent of this long and stupendous range, and in the neighbourhood were quarries of fine granite. In about three hours and a half after quitting the town we reached the pagoda, a most romantic spot, which fully repaid the labour of attaining it.

To the left of the pagoda, and just above the waterfall, was a small temple, near which we observed some priests across the ravine which separated us. To this we accordingly directed our steps, not without the hope of some rest and refreshment after our up-hill

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walk of eight or nine miles, which must be repeated on the return. Our clerical friends expressed as much surprise at our strange appearance as befitted persons of their reserved character; but civilly presented us with tea, and with the meagre and anchorite fare to which their sect is restricted, though scandal whispers that there are always better things *εν τῳ κρυπτῳ*—*in the cupboard.*

I wrote in Chinese the names of our party, and the occasion which had brought us, and left it at the pagoda, after which it was time to return. The cascade, on finishing its descent, formed one or two beautifully clear and pebbly streams, which wandered through the finely-cultivated plain between the mountains and the lake, before they emptied themselves into the latter. We crossed these several times over bridges of hewn granite, well-built of immensely long blocks of that material; for which, however, I had been fully prepared by the skill with which the Chinese quarry that hardest of stones near Canton. We were glad to reach our boats, after a delightful excursion of nearly eighteen miles fast walking.

Two days' further delay at our present halting-place would have tired us had the neighbourhood of *Nankang-foo* been less worthy of attention; but the time was fully occupied. Another excursion towards the mountains brought us to a romantic dell not far from the bottom of the waterfall, where we found gigantic characters, some feet in length, cut deeply into the face of the native rock, and calculated to endure for centuries. They were memorials of persons who had visited the spot, and who must have employed practised workmen in the execution.

On returning to the town, a handsome temple or hall of Confucius, styled *Wun miaou* (temple of letters), attracted my attention. The granite of the *Leu-shân* formed the pavement, the steps, and the basement of a number of courts and halls, in which were arranged tablets, commemorative of the worthies of the province and city; while the principal apart-

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ment of the temple contained the tablet of the great teacher himself, with the inscription, "The seat of the deified Confucius, most holy teacher of ancient times." Everything in this city wore a cast of Chinese antiquity and letters, even to the materials of writing; for the slate of the mountains supplies the substance of which they manufacture their slabs for rubbing the cakes of ink.

This district was not the birthplace of Confucius, who was a native of Shantung; but his great disciple and commentator *Choo-tsze* lived and taught in a secluded valley about seven or eight miles distant from the city. A party of us started on the 19th of November to explore this spot, and having at first missed our way, were obliged to find a Chinese to guide us. It was situated in a nook by the side of a rivulet which flowed down from the mountains, and was called "the vale of the white deer," from a tradition that the sage employed such an animal to bring his provisions from the market, by slinging a basket to its horns. The deer was represented in the hall of the temple by a figure. A tree was pointed out as having been planted by the Chinese philosopher, just as Voltaire's tree is shown at Ferney.

This spot was now appropriately dedicated to the purposes of education. In one of the apartments, used as a schoolroom, were suspended five large tablets, on which was inscribed a dissertation on the "five human relations," which they designate as—1. Father and son; 2. Prince and minister; 3. Husband and wife; 4. Elder and younger brothers; 5. Friends among each other. The buildings were comprised in a number of different courts, but quite plain, and evidently intended for use rather than show. This valley forms a place of pilgrimage to the literati of China.

We quitted *Nankang-foo* at six o'clock on the morning of the 20th of November, and as the wind blew strong from the north-west, made great progress through this last portion of our journey on the la-

which terminated on the arrival of the boats at *Woo-chin*, a very considerable place, though not dignified with any of the three terms applied to walled cities. We were much surprised, on walking through the town, to find it excel not only *Nankang-foo* in riches and population, but most other cities that we had hitherto seen.

The gradual approach to Canton was marked by the bales of woollens and other European manufactures in the shops; and in one place we found a view of the factories, and of the ships at Whampoa. Two very handsome temples, perhaps the finest we had yet seen, attracted our notice. One of them was dedicated to *Wan-show-choo*, "the lord of long life;" a gift which is probably highly valued by the rich and prosperous merchants, who congregate at *Woo-chin* from the north, south, and east of the empire. The three good things which every Chinese wishes his friends at the new year, are *Fo*, *Lo*, *Show*, "Happiness, wealth, and long life."

On quitting the *Poyang* lake at this point, we were surprised to have found the average breadth so much less than had been expected. It may possibly extend considerably to the south-east; or the flat expanse, on which we were now entering, might occasionally be flooded in such a manner as to have caused the designation of lake to be applied to that also. We had already seen to the northward that what elsewhere would be called only swamps, were frequently distinguished by the Chinese with the name of *Hoo*, or lake.

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CHAPTER XIII.

HAVING quitted the Poyang lake, we were now in a sort of delta (if the embouchures of several rivers combined may be allowed that term) formed of the alluvial *débris* brought down by the streams towards the lake, and intersected by a great number of channels. Along one of these we proceeded on the 21st of November towards *Nanchang-foo*, the capital of *Keangsy*, and reached a place called *Whangshan*, still above twenty miles from our destination. The river being narrow, and the stream against us, trackers again became serviceable, and we resumed our walks along the shore. The first pasture that we had yet seen in China now occurred. It extended a long way from the banks, and being closely eaten by the buffaloes and other cattle which grazed it, was as level and smooth as a lawn.

On the morning of the 22nd the wind was too light to make any way against the stream, and we brought up at a place called *Tseaoushay;* but in the course of an hour resumed our route. We were given to understand that in two days hence, the 24th November, would be the anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, an occasion always specially and reverently celebrated by the officers of government. The *Kinchae*, our conductor, with a want of penetration which was hardly to have been expected from a person of his sense and acuteness, appears to have entertained a hope that the ambassador might be induced to join in the prostration at this place, notwithstanding all that had occurred near Peking!

He did not introduce the subject himself, but employed one of the Canton native linguists to sound th-

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second commissioner, from whom such answers were obtained as convinced the legate that his hopes were utterly fruitless. In order to show that every disposition existed on the part of the British embassy to honour the emperor, short of the last act of humiliation, a message was sent by the ambassador saying that his excellency would be happy to compliment the emperor after the English fashion, by parading the guard and firing a salute, should it meet with his approbation. To this a civil answer was returned by the legate to the effect that "he thanked his lordship for the proposal, but as this was not the Chinese custom, he would not trouble him." I expected as much; for, so far as we are concerned, the emperor must be *aut Cæsar, aut nullus*.

In the course of this little piece of negotiation it was intimated by the legate that as the emperor's birth-day would be the occasion of considerable hustle within the city itself of *Nanchang-foo*, and as there would, moreover, be an examination of students, he requested that the gentlemen of the embassy would abstain from visiting the interior, for fear of the chances of trouble. There seemed nothing unreasonable in this request, considering the perfect liberty that had been enjoyed by us. No restriction, at the same time, was interposed as regarded the suburbs, which in Chinese towns differ little, if at all, from the interior of their walled towns.

Early on the morning of the 23rd our boats were anchored at *Nanchang-foo*. This city is said to have been a great sufferer by the Tartars at the last conquest, who left nothing except the walls; but the interior has been since restored. In all those instances where we had seen a considerable circuit of city walls only *partly* filled with an inhabited town, I was told that the void space was the result of Tartar devastation, which had never since been repaired. *Nanking* and *Nanchang-foo* are especial instances of this. The southern capital was, of course, the particular object their attack.

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We were now about to ascend the river which flows down from the mountains forming the boundary of *Keangsy* and Canton provinces; and as both the rapidity and the shallowness of the stream must naturally increase as we mounted towards the source, it became necessary to embark at this place in boats of a different size and construction from our last. The new boats were found drawn up in a line along the bank of the river; the legate had given such bad accounts of their size and accommodation that they surpassed our expectations, and seemed capable, after some alteration, of being made tolerably comfortable. The boat, however, which was provided for the ambassador appearing to be much inferior to that of the *Kinchae*, it was determined that a better vessel should be procured before any luggage was allowed to be moved.

While search was making for this purpose, the owners of some boats on the other side of the river came to me, and saying that the mandarins who had the charge of providing boats had procured the oldest and the worst for us, requested we would go over and look at them; adding that if we insisted on it, they would be ours. On inspecting these, we found three boats much superior to any of the rest, and selected the best of them for his excellency. The mandarins on the following morning stated that we could not have them, but brought another very good boat with glass windows, which proved satisfactory, and similar windows were added to some of the others. The party of four with whom I had travelled being too much for the new boats, we separated into pairs for the remainder of the journey.

On proceeding into the suburbs of the city, these appeared in no wise different from the city itself, which some of the party entered without knowing it. The porcelain shops were extremely well furnished, and reminded us of our vicinity to the great emporium of porcelain, *Jaou-chow Foo*, which lies about sixty miles distant on the north-east; while *King-tĕ-chin*.

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the place of manufacture, is a little beyond that, in the same direction. It was here that Père Dentrecolles, the intelligent Jesuit, passed some years of his life, and acquired that intimate knowledge of the methods practised by the Chinese in the porcelain manufacture which first gave rise to its imitation in Europe.

The knowledge of the finest kinds of porcelain is not of very ancient date in China; but various sorts of earthenware and pottery were known to this ingenious people in the earliest periods of their history. It is reasonable to suppose that they proceeded by gradual stages from one to the other; and that the improvement of the opaque and coarse-grained earthenware, with a glaze on its surface, until it became that beautiful semi-transparent substance which we now admire in their porcelain, was the work of ages. This is proved by the antique specimens which the Chinese are fond of collecting. In connexion with this subject, I introduce a curious topic, which was slightly noticed in a previous work,* but concerning which much additional information has since been obtained.

It is about five years since the public attention was drawn to the fact of several little porcelain bottles, inscribed with Chinese characters, having been found in Egypt, mixed up with the scarabæi and gems, and other small objects, in the ancient tombs of Thebes. Of these, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his work 'On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' observes as follows:—

"The accidental discovery of a single bottle of this kind would naturally pass unheeded, and if we felt surprised that it should be deposited in an Egyptian sepulchre, conjecture would reasonably suggest that an accidental visitor in later times might have dropped it there, while searching for ancient treasures of a more valuable kind. But this explanation ceases to

* 'The Chinese.'

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be admissible when we find the same have been discovered *in various Theban tombs*. I myself have seen several, two of which I brought to England; another is described by the learned Professor Rosellini, and found by him in a previously unopened Egyptian tomb of uncertain date, which he refers, from the style of the sculpture, to a Pharaonic period, not much later than the eighteenth dynasty; a fourth is in the museum at Jersey; another was purchased by Lord Prudhoe at Coptos, and is now in the museum at Alnwick Castle; two (three) others are in the possession of Mrs. Bowen; and another belongs to Mr. William Hamilton. They are about two inches in height; one side presents a flower, and the other an inscription," &c.

Here, then, are no less than *nine* porcelain bottles from Egypt, most of which I have seen, and read the Chinese inscriptions with which they are ornamented. Sir G. Wilkinson supposes that they were brought into Egypt through India, with which country he believes the Egyptians to have traded at a very remote period; and he states it as his opinion that they were applied to the ordinary purpose of holding the *kohl*, or collyrium, used by women for staining their eyelids.*

When I saw in Lord Prudhoe's possession the first specimen that came under my observation, his lordship informed me that the little bottle had not been found by himself in a tomb, but purchased from the fellahs at Coptos, near Thebes, in company with some of the small Egyptian relics which are there found in such numbers. On my arrival at Florence soon afterwards, I discovered by chance that Mrs. Bowen, a traveller in Egypt, had three more of these bottles, purchased in like manner from the fellahs, for the value of a few sous, together with scarabæi, and other small antiques. As an object of gain, then, there does not seem to have been any great temptation for the practice of fraud on the part of the sellers.

* 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' vol. iii.

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When I had examined Signor Rosellini's specimen in the Grand Duke's museum at Florence, I wrote to the professor at Pisa, requesting he would favour me with a statement of the circumstances under which he had become possessed of the bottle. The following is an extract of the reply which I received to my letter:—

"Lorsque je faisais faire de fouilles dans le nécropole de Thèbes, j'avais donné ordre qu'à la découverte d'un tombeau intact on m'appella à l'instant, et que personne n'osa y entrer avant moi. C'est de cette façon que je suis entré le premier dans trois tombeaux, dont j'ai abattu moi-même le petit mur en briques qui bouche l'entrée à la chambre sépulcrale. Ayant pénétré dans un de ces trois tombeaux, j'y ai trouvé, avec d'autres objets Egyptiens, placés dans un petit panier tissu de feuilles de palmier, le petit vase en question."

The above is very positive and circumstantial testimony, from a respectable source, as to the situation and manner in which one of the bottles was found. The only other evidence that we possess consists in the appearances presented by the things themselves. On the first inspection of Lord Prudhoe's specimen, it so happened that I had in my possession a modern snuff or scent bottle from China, exactly alike in size and shape, but altogether different in the nature of the porcelain; that from the Egyptian tombs being extremely coarse, while the modern Chinese bottle, on the contrary, was of the finest transparent porcelain now manufactured by them, and freely admitting of the passage of light through its sides. This difference in the substance might have led to the inference that the bottles were *not* Chinese, had not the inscribed characters placed this point beyond a doubt.

From the nature of the manufacture, then, it might be concluded that the bottles from Egypt were made at a period when the art in China was yet in its infancy. The next point to be considered is the character inscribed. This is the contracted or running-

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hand used in writing, the commencement of which it seems difficult to assign with much certainty to any particular date, though Dr. Morrison, in his Dictionary, refers the first use of this form to the early part of the Christian era. The character is just the same as that used in printing, but *contracted* for the sake of rapidity in writing: as soon, therefore, as writing came into use, the contraction of the characters would be most likely to follow as a matter of convenience or necessity; and hence the difficulty of affixing it as an *invention* to any particular period.

The inscription on every bottle that I have seen from Egypt consists of a line of five words, being in fact a verse of poetry. It is remarkable that three of the bottles have exactly the same inscription, with some difference in the legibility of the characters—*Hwa kae, yew yĕ nien*—of which this is the signification:—"The flower opens, and lo, another year." Every one of the bottles has a flower or a sprig rudely sketched on the reverse side in black and red.

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A fourth bottle has inscribed on it, *Chĕ tsae tsze shan choong*—"Only in the midst of this mountain." The characters on this specimen are plainer than on any of the others, and easily legible at first sight. The surfaces of some of them have suffered from age and attrition, the enamel and inscription being partially worn.

On another is exhibited the following line of five words:—*Ming yuĕ soong choong chaou*—"The bright moon shines amidst the firs." This is the specimen adduced in 'The Chinese,' and it is one of the most obscure with reference to the condition of the characters.

A sixth bottle, on which the writing is very distinct, bears this verse:—*Heng hwa hoong shĕ ly*—"The almond flower blushes for ten miles around." This is traceable to a Chinese song or poem older than the Christian era. The specimen in the museum at Jersey, and that in Mr. Hamilton's possession, I have not yet seen.

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It is strange that another of these curious bottles, identical in size, colour, material, and general appearance, was lately found at Matlock, in Derbyshire, by Lord Prudhoe, who kindly forwarded it to me. It differs from the others only in having ten characters inscribed instead of five; but in other respects is so perfectly the same that one is almost persuaded the whole number of bottles were produced at the same time, and in the same place, if not by the same hand. I can only account for its being found at Matlock by that place being a resort for strangers, one of whom had it in his possession (perhaps from Egypt), and left it there.

The repeated discovery of these little vases among the small Egyptian relics, not in one tomb merely but in several, must be viewed as an extraordinary fact, when backed by the personal testimony of Signor Rosellini, and of others. The professor observes in his letter to myself—"J'ai été bien surpris de cette découverte, d'autant plus que plusieurs *fragmens* de vases pareilles m'avaient été offerts par les fellahs, et je les avais réfusés, en croyant que c'était de la moderne manufacture de Chine, porté par quelque hasard en Egypte. Le tombeau où j'ai trouvé ce petit vase n'avait pas de date, mais d'après son emploiement, et le style des objets qu'il contient, je le juge appartenant au temps des dynasties XVIII^me^, à la XX^me^; c'est-à-dire, de dix-huit à onze siècles avant J. C. Plus tard M. Wilkinson m'a assuré avoir lui-même trouvé, dans un tombeau intact à Thèbes, un petit vase Chinois presque semblable." *

These testimonies being impartially stated, every one may draw his own inferences. Supposing the high antiquity of the bottles to be established, two interesting conclusions would be deducible:—First, that the Egyptians at a remote period had some communication, either direct or indirect, with China, and

* Sir G. Wilkinson only purchased his of the Arabs.

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that they set some value on these porcelain bottles, which in their bluish-green colour resemble the coarse porcelain objects of undoubted Egyptian origin, found with them.* Secondly, that the Chinese practised the manufacture of porcelain at a very early date, but in a degree of fineness greatly inferior to the present state of the art.

That portion of the internal evidence which most militates against the high antiquity of these specimens, is the *form of the character*, which certainly is not that which the Chinese ascribe to their remotest periods. One of the verses, too, is said to belong to the *Tâng* dynasty (A.D. 622—897); but this is less decisive, as it might *then* have been borrowed from something earlier; and the three hundred poems compiled by Confucius himself, five hundred years before Christ, were of a date much anterior to that period.

It is supposed by many that the Egyptian tombs have (some of them at least) received a succession of tenants, and that a portion of their contents are therefore not referable to a very remote antiquity. Under *this* supposition, the appearances of the bottles would become more reconcileable with the circumstances under which they appeared. They might belong to the period of the Roman empire, when we know that there was a direct intercourse with China, or they might perhaps be brought as low down as the period of the Arabian commerce with that country. I am afraid that the subject must continue to remain involved in considerable doubt, until our expected conquests in China have enabled the Society of Antiquaries to establish a direct correspondence with the *Hânlin* College at Peking!

* I have remarked, in my former work on China, that the round metallic mirrors in Mr. Salt's collection struck me at once by their perfect identity with the ancient metallic mirrors of the Chinese, preserved by them to this day, but now superseded by the use of glass.

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Although the 24th of November was the emperor's birthday, during our stay at *Nanchang-foo* we could perceive no particular bustle among the people: the observance of the day was confined exclusively to the mandarins. Some presents for the embassy were brought from the legate, and on every subsequent day during our stay something or other came from the judge and treasurer of *Keangnán*, who had travelled with us thus far, and were to leave us at this place.

A dangerous fire (in Chinese towns a fire is always particularly dangerous) broke out on the opposite side of the river to that where our squadron was anchored. We all mounted on the tops of the boats to view it, and his excellency sent a message to the legate, offering to despatch two engines, which were among the presents, to assist in extinguishing the conflagration. This offer, however, was declined; and we could see the Chinese working an engine against the flames with great effect. It seems that from Canton the use and manufacture of the fire-engine has become universal through China; proving that, where an invention or discovery is of undoubted practical utility, they are not above availing themselves of it, as they have shown in the case of vaccination and some other instances. In about two hours the fire was completely extinguished, after burning down several houses, and destroying, as we were afterwards told, a great deal of property.

Some of our party walked round the walls of the city, and found it answering to the description in the first volume of Duhalde, the area being nearly six miles in circuit, of an oval shape, and with seven gates. In the course of their excursion they came suddenly upon a very curious scene—this was a military examination for degrees of honour. Three mandarins were contending in archery. They started one by one from an ornamented gateway, erected for the purpose, on their small horses finely decorated, and

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galloping past three successive butts (placed forty or fifty paces from each other), shot an arrow at each. The mark was very large and at no great distance, but the skill seemed to consist in fitting and aiming the arrows with such rapidity while the horses were at speed.

Several mandarins of rank were present in their badges of ceremony, and a vast concourse of spectators assembled to view each candidate

> "Doctum sagittas tendere *Sinicas*
> Arcu paterno."

"*Learned* in archery" particularly applies in this instance, as the Chinese have military degrees corresponding in *name* to the civil, although much less highly prized among them. A "military doctor" does certainly sound very strangely, and it may be apprehended that some of these learned individuals must be greatly puzzled by the novel practice of shot and shells to which they are (1841) exposed in the pending contest with our forces; almost justifying the application of Milton's punning lines—

> "The terms we send are terms of weight,
> Of hard contents, and full of force urged home;
> Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
> And stumbled many."—*Paradise Lost.*

The military system of the Chinese becomes in a measure interesting to us at present, and there is some detail of it in the writings of the Jesuits. The Bachelors in arms equal in numbers their literary compeers, but almost all of them are Tartars. Those among them who aspire to the next higher step undergo an examination or trial once in three years at the chief city of each province, two months after the literary examination, or about the tenth moon, which was nearly the date of our stay at Nanchang Foo.

There are three examinations for the military Bachelors, and the viceroy presides at them. The first

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(that viewed by our party) consists in archery; the second in horsemanship; and the third in what may be termed strategics, as the candidates are furnished with subjects of composition on points relating to the military art. The names of the successful competitors are publicly exhibited, as in the case of the literary degrees.

The military doctors pass their examination at Peking, in the same year with the literary; and those who gain this highest degree have a claim to all the military employments which correspond to the civil ones filled by the doctors in letters. This strange parallel between the civil and military profession is said to have been instituted by the present Manchow emperors. Numberless precautions are used to obviate the effects of favour and interest in these examinations, military as well as civil. Although the punishment of death is attached to the discovery of corrupt practices, it is understood that the sons of powerful mandarins are occasionally advanced unfairly, and to the prejudice of those who have less influential supporters.

The Kinchae appeared to be either very partial to the city at which we were now staying, or, for some reason unknown to us, very unwilling to hasten our progress towards Canton. The emperor's birthday passed over, and two days after that, without any symptoms of moving, although our new boats were all ready and occupied. On the 26th of the month Kwong Tajin visited the ambassador, accompanied by the judge and a military mandarin of rank. In the course of conversation, the legate was invited by his excellency to partake of an entertainment subsequent to our approaching arrival at Canton, on board His Majesty's frigate; and it was observed to him that Soong Tajin, the conductor of Lord Macartney, had dined on board the Lion. Kwong replied, very politely, that he was much behind that minister in talent, but that his good wishes towards us were quite

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as sincere. "How," exclaimed he, turning to the other Chinese officers, "shall I be able to part with my friends?"

His good humour appeared to have been particularly excited by this meeting, as the *Kinchae* afterwards sent a pleasure-boat, attended by two mandarins, to convey the ambassador and commissioners to a temple erected by the salt merchants of the place. It turned out to be a very splendid one, the whole of the idols, and the inside of the building, being quite new, and on a scale of grandeur not surpassed by any that we had seen. These salt merchants are the farmers of the Chinese *gabelle*, or salt revenue, and derive from their monopoly a fund of wealth superior to that of the Hong merchants, or monopolists of the European trade at Canton.

A sort of public exhibition, truly and exclusively English, took place to-day at Nanchang Foo; the first of the kind, it may safely be averred, that had ever occurred in the heart of the Chinese empire. This was nothing more nor less than a *cricket-match*, between two elevens of the embassy. An immense, but very well-behaved concourse of the Chinese population assembled to view a spectacle so entirely novel to them, and stood in a huge circle formed by their police and soldiery. As the hits increased in hardness, the circle quickly enlarged itself, until every portion of it was at a respectful distance from the players, while several balls that plunged among the dense crowd created no small commotion.

These active and hardy national habits contrast strongly with the inertness of the upper and middle classes in the East. Even among the lower orders of the Chinese, great as their industry may be in procuring a livelihood, or exercising a profession, the endurance of active exertion or toil from any other motive than necessity, or with any other object than gain, is almost unknown. The literary dignity of the upper classes would be quite compromised by such a

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rude exercise of the muscles as they beheld on this occasion. One of the mandarins expressed his surprise to me in the evening; and as I endeavoured to make him comprehend that the sedentary pursuits of learning were not the less valued among us for anything that he had seen to-day, this led to a conversation respecting the triennial examination for literary degrees which had lately terminated at *Nanchang Foo*.

It is the invariable rule to commence these examinations on the 8th day of the 8th moon. The first two days are occupied with the "Four Books" of Confucius; the two next with the "Five Canonical Works,"—all these are the standard of Chinese orthodoxy. Two more days are spent upon general subjects, chiefly political essays, and the whole process of the examination is concluded in about nine days. To prevent any communication of their essays to persons outside, all the candidates are registered, and locked up together within the enclosure for two successive nights at each of the above examinations. They are strictly searched, and allowed to have nothing in their possession but blank paper, ink, and their hair pencils for writing.

The three species of composition at the above examinations are, first, *Wun-chang*, or "fine writing;" secondly, *She*, "verses;" and thirdly, *Tse*, "essays on politics or government." Novel theories "in advance of the age" meet with no favour, however well expressed. Everything must be Confucian in sentiment and principle as well as style. In this the *Hánlin* College at Peking is a sort of *Sorbonne*, which dictates the points of orthodox belief, and watchfully guards against heretical innovation. Such institutions account for the stationary state of Chinese knowledge, and at the same time explain one of the causes which have contributed to the stability of the Chinese system. The famous *Choo-tsze* (of whom we have read some pages back) defined *learning* to

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be "*imitating*, or conforming one's practice to the prescribed rule;" thus all the learned of China are the *servum pecus* denounced by the Latin poet.

The most commendable feature of their system is the general diffusion of elementary *moral* education among the lower orders. To borrow the opening paragraph of the *Seaou-hëŏ*, or "book of youthful instruction," the children of the poor and labouring classes are taught "to love their parents, to respect their superiors, to honour their teachers, to select their friends—fundamental principles in governing one's self; in regulating a family; in ruling a nation; in tranquillising the world." It is in the preference of moral to physical instruction that even we might perhaps wisely take a leaf out of the Chinese book, and do something to reform this most mechanical age of ours.

This chapter may close with a collection of additional maxims and sentences picked up in the course of Chinese reading. Some of them are good, others indifferent; but all sufficiently characteristic of the curious people who at present occupy so much of our attention.

Maxims and Sayings.

1. Newness is valued in the garment, but antiquity in the man.
2. For the sake of one good action, a hundred evil ones should be forgotten.
3. The loftiest building arises from small accretions.
4. Let me fulfil my own part, and await the will of heaven.
5. Frugality is not difficult to the poor, nor humility to the low.
6. The straightest trees are first felled, and the clearest wells first dried up.

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7. To the unwilling, the wing of a grasshopper is heavy; but to the willing a thousand *kin* are light.

8. The best swimmers are oftenest drowned, and the best riders have the worst falls.

9. The tongue, which is yielding, endures; the teeth, which are stubborn, perish.

10. The people are the roots of a state; if the roots are flourishing the state will endure.

11. The blind have the best ears, and the deaf the sharpest eyes.

12. Life is a journey, and death a return home.

13. It is better to suffer an injury, than to commit one.

14. Causeless anger resembles waves without wind.

15. The horse's back is not so safe as the buffalo's —(The mandarin is not so secure as the husbandman).

16. A hunter's dog will at last die a violent death (*i.e.* he who lives by the destruction of others).

17. The wisest must in a thousand times be once mistaken; the most foolish in a thousand times must be once right.

18. Forbearance is attended with profit. (The word *patience* is often inscribed on the rings of the Chinese.)

19. He must be bad whom everybody condemns.

20. He who is willing to inquire will excel; but the self-sufficient man will fail.

21. Evil is more easily learned than good.

22. Anger is like a little fire, which if not timely checked may burn down a lofty pile.

23. It is easier to fill lakes and rivers than to satisfy the heart of man.

24. He who hastens to be rich incurs peril.

25. Evil conduct is the "root of misery."

26. While silent, consider your own faults; and, while speaking, spare those of others.

27. He who is clothed in silk is seldom a rearer of silkworms.

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28. A discontented man is like a snake who would swallow an elephant.

29. Too much lenity multiplies crimes.

30. Water is less dreaded than fire; yet fewer suffer by fire than by water.

31. When the error is committed, the good advice is remembered—too late.

32. Every day cannot be a "feast of lanterns."

33. Fine gold fears not the fire, nor solid stone the water.

34. The house wherein learning abounds will rise; that in which pleasure prevails will fall.

35. The husbandman wishes for rain; the traveller for fair weather.

36. To spoil what is good by unseasonableness, is like letting off fireworks in rain.

37. A leaky house on a rainy night—one misfortune upon another.

38. If men will have no care for the future, they will soon have sorrow for the present.

39. To look, listen, ask, and feel, is the business of a physician.

40. An ignorant doctor is no better than a murderer.

41. The sick man learns the advantages of health.

42. He who will have fresh fish must not mind the cost.

43. A large tree has some rotten branches; an extensive kindred includes some beggars.

44. When the crane and the oyster tug together, the fisherman makes his gain of it (applied to litigation).

45. A man must make himself despicable before he can be really despised by others.

46. In every matter leave a little spare ground—(carry nothing to extremes).

47. Hear both sides, and all will be clear; hear but one, and you will still be in the dark.

48. Kind feeling may be paid with kind feeling; but debts must be paid with hard cash.

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49. To find others exactly like me is not possible; unless there were two *me's*.

50. A needle is not sharp at both ends—(nihil est ab omni parte beatum).

51. Plant a flower with care, and it may not grow; stick in a willow at random, and it forms a thick shade.

52. Old age is like a candle in the wind—easily blown out.

53. To show the value of secresy, an emperor made a statue of gold with its mouth closed.

54. Love of gain turns wise men into fools.

55. He who has many acquaintances will be mixed up with many troubles.

56. To be over-prudent is not much better than folly.

57. A scholar's children are familiar with books; a farmer's sons are versed in the seasons.

58. Wife, fortune, children, and profession—are all predestined.

59. A wife should excel in four things—virtue, speech, person, and needlework.

60. High trees feel the wind; lofty station is obnoxious to danger.

61. A certain sage feared the testimony of four witnesses—heaven, earth, his neighbour, and himself.

62. To contrive is man's part; to accomplish is heaven's.

63. Those above should not oppress those below; nor those below encroach on those above.

64. He, who could see only three days into futurity, might enrich himself for ever.

65. To be fully fed, and warmly clothed, and to dwell at ease without learning, is little better than a bestial state.

66. If a chattering bird be not placed in the mouth, vexation will not sit between the eyebrows.

67. Prosperity produces liberality and moderation of temper.

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68. An illiterate person is like a dry ink-stone—turn it upside down, not a drop of ink comes from it.

69. A good rat will not injure the grain near its own hole—(It is an ill bird, &c.).

70. Think how you can sell a thing before you buy it.

71. Produce much, consume little; labour diligently, spend cautiously—(the way to get rich).

72. To persecute the unfortunate, is like throwing stones on one fallen into a well.

73. He, who has a yellow face and white teeth, is an opium smoker.

74. When paths are constantly trodden they are kept clean, but when abandoned the weeds choke them up; so weeds choke the mind in the absence of employment.

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CHAPTER XIV.

The river, by name Kankeang, against whose course we were now to make our way towards the frontier of Canton province, becomes so shallow as well as rapid near its source, that the boats which navigate it are of a peculiarly light construction. The upper works are entirely of matting, shaped like the tilt of a waggon, and the stem and stern rise with a sweeping curve high out of the water. In this manner they are made as buoyant as possible, and encounter the rapids and rocks which beset their course with comparative impunity. These matted habitations were certainly far from prepossessing in their appearance; but it was satisfactory to find that the legate himself was obliged to submit to necessity, and that he occupied one no better than our own.

On trial they proved far more comfortable and water-tight than was expected. We quitted Nanchâng on the 27th November with wet and boisterous weather, calculated to put any boats to the test, and were surprised to find them turn out so well. The wine being contrary we made but small progress, and were obliged to stop at a place called *She-kea*, about fifty ly from our starting place. It proved to be a small country town, but with respectable shops, and an old pagoda of seven stories in the vicinity. The weather was so miserably wet as to put a short stop to an attempted excursion into the country.

We proceeded on the following day with no better auspices, our boats being poled against the stream with long bamboos, at the lower extremity of which was an iron point, to prevent their slipping against the rocks. The bed of the river was composed

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shingles and gravel, with occasional masses of stone jutting out. After the muddy canals and rivers to the northward, it was a gratifying change to travel along this clear and fresh-looking stream, and we only wanted a change in our dismal weather to render the journey a pleasant one. The flat country which we had just passed through began to assume a more varied and picturesque appearance, with occasional clumps of trees, and insulated hills. The massive camphor tree with its dark green leaves, resembling the *Ilex* in hue, was very abundant, and a great ornament to the landscape. Our resting-place on the 28th was *Foong-ching hien*, a small town with walls, but not the tenth part of the size of many places which do not rank with it municipally. The only thing we had to be satisfied with, was our reception, which was honoured with some very grand *paelows* (ornamented gateways), and rather more Chinese music than we wished for.

The character of a mountain stream was marked by the great banks of gravel and stones which constantly appeared above the water in the channel of the river. Stone embankments were occasionally observed on each side, to serve as a security against the sudden swellings of the stream. It was difficult to imagine how we could proceed at all further on, as our light boats already touched ground very frequently. The Chinese informed us that we might congratulate ourselves on the incessant rain which had fallen since quitting *Nanchangfoo*, as it would afford us sufficient water for our boats nearer to the source of the *Kankeang*.

On the 29th we passed *Chang-shoo Chin*, "the station of camphor trees," where we observed a populous and well-built town. Ten *ly* beyond that, at five o'clock in the evening, we reached the mouth of the river *Lin-keang*, which there joined the main stream, and formed our resting-place for the day. About twenty *ly*, or six miles up this small stream, lies *Linangfoo*, a considerable town, which our short stay

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did not allow us to visit. I was surprised to see so much of the banks of our river in what might almost be styled a state of nature, growing nothing but wood. In consequence, probably, of the gravelly nature of the soil, and the liability to sudden inundations, field and garden cultivation appeared here to be more unfrequent than we had often observed. It is likely that the camphor and tallow trees, of which we saw great numbers, afford the best return under the circumstances of soil and situation.

The weather fortunately cleared up on the 30th, and a northerly wind sent us fast onward. At five o'clock in the evening our squadron reached *Sin-kan Hien*, a small walled town of unprepossessing exterior, on the eastern bank of the stream. The local authorities seemed to have displayed their jealousy of strangers by preparing our usual accommodations on the side of the river opposite to the town; and this was even carried so far, that one or two of our party, who wanted a boat to cross over, could not persuade the people to take them. The point was not urged, as there appeared no adequate inducement to take the trouble; so our excursions extended only to the country side of the water. I could observe to-day some little approach to the fruit and vegetable cultivation prevailing about Canton. On the sides of the river were groves of the orange-tree, and the tops of the barren hills were thickly planted with fir. The stream became in some places contracted by the encroachment of the high banks; and to the south and south-east we could perceive mountains rising as we advanced.

The wind increased to a gale during the night, and agitated the water to a degree that was far from agreeable in our light, narrow, and mat-covered boats, knocking them against each other in a very lively manner. After an attempt to leave our anchorage early on the morning of the 1st December, the squadron soon returned to it, as the mast of the Kinchae's boat was sprung, and the breeze too strong for ou

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timid sailors. This made the fortieth stationary day, since our landing to the northward at the *Peiho;* and in this respect I believe we surpassed all former embassies. To those who wished to inquire and observe, it was a circumstance much in our favour; and some of these long halts had been productive of pleasure and amusement, as well as instruction. There now seemed to be every prospect of our reaching Canton about Christmas-day. As we approached nearer to our destination, impatience of unnecessary delays naturally increased.

We quitted *Sin-kan Hien* early, and proceeded with a fair wind and very fine weather to another walled town called *Keakeang Hien*. Both these names indicate vicinity to the little *Keang* or river on which we were sailing. Thinking that the boats were to stop here, we went on shore, but found all the gates of the paltry town locked and barricaded in the most determined manner, as if to resist a siege. This laudable vigilance on the part of the *Hien*, or magistrate of the town, was perhaps intended to gain favour with his superiors, and evinced the most uncommon display of precaution that we had hitherto met with. The walls were not much higher than a common garden enclosure, and perhaps the good Hien's fears arose from a sense of his weakness.

The weather being so fair, and the hour still early, our boats proceeded on their way, and we hastened to join them. The hills rapidly increased in number and height as we advanced; while among them the scattered pagodas, villages, and plantations of trees had a beautiful effect. At a short distance from the last-named town, the boat of one of our party suddenly struck upon a sunken rock, and by the time that the crew could run her ashore she completely swamped. The different articles of baggage being removed on board other boats, not without considerable damage from wet, we went on again after an hour's delay. At five o'clock we reached a place called *Foo-kow*, a hilly spot, with a military post, but no town of any

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consequence. We walked among the hills, which were here bleak and barren, and observed a number of deep holes or pits, around which were lying heaps of slaty coal. It was evident that these had been dug with the hopes of finding that mineral, and then abandoned as unprofitable.

We sailed very fast during the whole of the 3rd December, through a picturesque country of hills and woods, traversed by our clear mountain stream. We could not conveniently manage a walk on shore, and found the mat-tilted boats, with the thermometer at forty-four degrees, rather uncomfortable habitations. The evening found the squadron at *Keihgan-foo*, a city of the first class on the right; and we had just time enough to examine the town by daylight. As frequently before observed, the space within the walls was comparatively desolate, abounding more in garden grounds than streets of houses; but the suburb was apparently new, and well stocked with good-looking shops. It is impossible to account for a circumstance so often remarked in the case of Chinese towns, except on the supposition that the severity of the internal regulations of their walled cities leads the industrious classes to prefer the outside of the walls.

The readiness with which we entered the gates of *Keihgan-foo* entirely removed the idea that the precaution adopted for the exclusion of the embassy at *Keakeang Hien*, on the day before, was the commencement of a plan of such absurd jealousy as we approached Canton. Indeed we had always found that the nature of our reception at different places depended more on the character and disposition of the local authorities than on our conductor the legate, who could not precede us, but travelled in our company. It was at Keihgan-foo that we saw large quantities of the brown nankeen cloth; having observed the cotton of which it is manufactured some days previous. From hence it is transported over the Meiling pass to Canton; and therefore does not cor

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from *Nanking*, as its name would seem to import, but is principally the produce of *Keangsy*.

The river on the 4th December became narrow and confined between high wooded banks, which converted our previous shallows into deep rapids, and called for all the exertions of the boatmen to stem the stream by poling and tracking, the weather being nearly calm. As the progress was very slow, we mounted the banks and pursued our course along the ridge, looking down on the numerous squadron of boats, as they were urged forward with immense toil by their crews. In spite of these difficulties a good day's run (for China) was effected of ninety ly; and we anchored in the evening at Wong Kâng, a place about twenty ly short of *Taeho-hien*.

At ten o'clock on the following morning the boats passed *Taeho-hien*, of which the walls were low and ruinous. On proceeding ashore to walk, about noon, I perceived for the first time some plantations of the sugar-cane, so common near Canton. Here, however, the great elevation of the land, and the higher northern latitude (nearly twenty-seven degrees), rendered the climate less favourable, and the canes were accordingly smaller in diameter and less flourishing. Stopped towards night at *Yaou-taou*.

Early on the 6th December we reached *Wan-ganhien*, a walled town of the third order, more populous and better built than any we had lately passed. This was probably owing to the advantages of its situation, being placed where the river widens out, and moderates the rapidity of the stream, with a fair depth of water up to the bank. Vast quantities of provisions were exhibited in the streets. Our attention was drawn to a handsome *Tsoo-tâng*, or "Hall of Ancestors," one of which exists in every considerable neighbourhood. In lieu of idols the niches are filled with tablets to the honour of those worthies of the district who in their life-time distinguished themselves by talent or virtue. Posthumous admission into one of these temples is a sort of minor *apotheosis*, and re-

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flects great honour on the descendants, who become of course anxious to obtain such a distinction for their predecessors.

Having viewed the interior of this prosperous town, we took a complete circuit of the walls, walking on the top of them all the way, as the breadth within the battlement was a platform of several feet, ascended by stairs at intervals. In the course of this tour I saw the handsomest *Paelow* or honorary gateway that had yet presented itself in China. It was constructed of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood, with a great deal of carving in high relief. On the frieze was inscribed, "The imperial will," denoting that it was erected by command of the sovereign. Just on the outside of the walls was a new and handsome temple to *Wun-chang* ("The glory of letters"), a minister of ancient times, who encouraged literature.

We left *Wan-gan-hien* early on the morning of the 7th, and after proceeding about eighty *ly*, stopped at a place called *Keunlun*, the wind being slack, and insufficient to urge us against the rapid stream without unintermitting toil. No people in the world except the Chinese would attempt to navigate this shallow stream so near its source. We went on shore and rambled among the numerous high and steep hills, which rose in all directions as far as the sight could reach, giving an uncommon character to the scenery; very much as if the sea in a storm off the Cape were to be suddenly arrested by the magician's wand, and every mountain wave fixed solid in its actual position. A great deal of the terrace cultivation was to be seen in the intervals between the hills. The upper portions of these, which in most countries would have been deemed perfectly incapable of any use, were thickly planted to the very summits with the single white camellia, called by the Chinese *Chashoo*, or tea-tree, and nearly allied to that plant. As they were in full flower, they gave to the distant hills the appearance of a light covering of snow. From the seed of this beautiful and useful plant, the Chinese

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prepare an excellent vegetable oil, called by them "tea-oil,"—*Cha-yew*.

At eleven o'clock on the following day we stopped at *Leang-kow*, a small town, to wait for three of the baggage-boats left astern. The river here, by the near approach of the mountains with their hanging woods on each side, became a mere torrent through the gorge or defile, and assumed a most picturesque appearance, its clear water sparkling and rushing along the rocky and gravelly bed. We had long been told of the *Shĕ-pă Tan*, or "eighteen rapids;" and before we left *Wan gân-hien*, a sum of money had (according to Chinese custom) been given to the captain of each boat, to defray religious expenses in propitiating the gods against the coming dangers.

These have been erroneously translated the "eighteen cataracts," the word *Tân* in its derivative sense being composed of the characters that signify *difficult* and *water*—"troubled waters," or rapids, and nothing more. Large masses of granite jut from the bed of the stream, which they confine in its course, and thereby add greatly to its turbulence and the difficulties of navigation. When the river is several feet higher than at the time we passed (as could plainly be seen by the state of the banks), most of these rocks must be under water, and thereby perhaps increase the danger. As it was, I believe that all of our squadron passed in safety.

When the boats astern had come up, we set off again towards *Kan-chow-foo*, the next large city in our course. During the whole of the day we performed but sixty *ly*, or less than twenty miles, and stopped at night about forty miles from *Kan-chow-foo*, to reach which, in our existing straits and difficulties, was likely to occupy two days more! The legate informed our ambassador that we should arrive at Canton in about twenty days hence.

On the following morning we were witnesses to a strange process—perfectly Chinese in all its prodigality of human exertion. The river was now so

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exceedingly shallow, that a line of men stood with great iron hoes on each side of the channel for the boats, and deepened it by scraping aside the sand and gravel before we could pass. The same men then put their shoulders (not to the wheel, but) to the sterns of the boats, and actually shoved them through by main force! They stood at times not much more than ankle deep in the water. It was astonishing to think that the greater portion of the thirty millions of pounds of tea, sold at Canton to the English (not to include other nations), was conveyed up this trout-stream, and down another like it on the opposite side of the Mei-ling pass.

The maxim of the legate still seemed to be *festina lentè*. We stopped at a place where there were no buildings, as early as three o'clock. There being no possibility of reaching the city of *Kan-chow-foo* before to-morrow, it seemed probable that our conductor wished to arrive there late in the day, and therefore delayed us now. In our excursion on shore we found the hills extremely barren, but still cultivated in some places with the camellia, as well as the tallow-tree.

At nine o'clock on the 10th December we passed the most dangerous of the *Tân*, or rapids. These were several rocks, just level with the water's edge in the channel for the boats, which was extremely narrow. At one o'clock we reached a part of the river where a channel was scraped out for our boats, as the day before, by labourers provided with iron hoes, as well as a board with which they removed the sand and stones. Finding some time afterwards that the distance to *Kan-chow-foo* was only twenty ly, or about six miles, I left the boat and went on shore for the purpose of proceeding on foot to the city along the left side of the river. Several fields were passed, planted with the ground nut (*arachis hypogœa*), known in the West Indies, and used by the Chinese for extracting their lamp oil. The people were busy in collecting the nuts, and separating them from

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earth by means of sieves through which the mould was shaken. This plant has the singular property of ripening the nut under ground, connected as it is by a filament with the flower above.

At about five o'clock I reached the walls of *Kan-chow-foo*. These were very extensive, and it was with more than half an hour's rapid walking that my companion and I arrived at the first gate, by which we entered the city. As the day was nearly closed there was no judging of the place, except that the streets were spacious, and paved with small round stones, instead of the broad flags used at Canton. On proceeding to the anchorage of our squadron, we found that our own boat had not arrived, and accordingly accepted the ambassador's invitation to dine with him. It was satisfactory to learn that, as from the shallowness of the river between this point and *Nan-gan-foo* (where our navigation was to end), it would be necessary to change some of the baggage boats, we should remain for a day at this place, and have an opportunity of exploring the large and important town within the walls.

On the morning of the 11th a party of us took a walk through the centre of the city to a large pagoda, near the walls on the opposite side. Having mounted to the top of this, we were fully repaid for our trouble by the view which the summit afforded, from a height of considerably more than one hundred feet. The column-like building consisted of nine stories, on an hexagonal base, and proved to be in a higher state of repair than any that we had yet seen. The exterior looked perfectly new, and we were informed that it had been very lately repaired throughout; while a tablet of stone in the highest story recorded its having been built in the second year of *Keatsing* of the Ming dynasty, or nearly three hundred years back. The architecture of this pagoda was not unlike that of the "lofty and bright" one near *Yang-chow-foo*.

We afterwards went to see an extensive and hand-

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some hall of Confucius (called a *Wunmeaou*, or temple of letters), where the tablet of the holy sage was enshrined in a recess magnificently carved and gilt, and surrounded by those of his successors and disciples. The next visit was to a hall or exchange of the green-tea merchants, of which the principal apartment was designated, in large gilt characters, *He-chun Tang*, or the "hall of hyson tea." Through the whole of the morning's tour, a mandarin with a white button was our conductor, and nothing could exceed his civility. The city of *Kan-chow-foo*, the whole circumference of whose walls we could view from the summit of the pagoda, seemed to me to surpass in the extent of its area any city of which I had yet had a complete view. It was, moreover, extremely populous, owing to the extensive trade which it carries on with the province of Fokien in tea. The northern angle of the city is between two rivers, of which the *Tung-ho*, or eastern, flows from the frontier of Fokien, and the *Sy-ho*, or western, (our future course,) from that of Canton.

On quitting *Kan-chow-foo* on the 12th, we immediately found the river more shallow, and reduced altogether in size, from the loss of a principal tributary, the stream from the eastward. The stoppages on account of boats grounding were perpetual, and the whole progress so slow, that we were enabled to pass the day on shore in walking excursions, which terminated in our proceeding on foot to the place of anchorage for the night, only forty *ly* from Nankang foo. In the course of our route we witnessed the process of extracting the vegetable grease from the croton, or tallow-tree; and likewise remarked the *Tseih-shoo*, or varnish shrub, from which the Chinese extract the fluid with which they manufacture their lacquered ware. A considerable quantity of this ware, though not of the best, was exhibited at *Kan-chow-foo*.

Two other interesting classes of objects frequently

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occurred in the distance that intervened before we reached *Nangan foo*, the last remaining city between us and the *Meiling* pass. These were the sugar manufactories, and the huge bamboo water-wheels, which irrigate fields lying thirty feet above the level of the river, by the motion which the stream communicates to them. Both of these I have fully described in another work.

On the morning of the 14th December, as there appeared to be some ground near the banks adapted to cricket, a numerous party went on shore to join in that game. The boats moved so slowly against the shallow and rapid stream, and the grounding was so frequent, that it became an easy matter to overtake them before night. From an apprehension, on the part of the Chinese, that the players might be left behind, some of the attendant boats remained, but no interruption was made to the sport. We arrived at *Nankang hien*, a town of the third order, about half-past five, and had just time before it grew dark to walk through a portion of the interior, which appeared small, dirty, and unworthy of notice.

The preparations for the ambassador, however, were in better style than we had often seen them. Besides the usual *Matow*, or ornamented landing-place, a very handsome tent with coloured lamps was erected on the shore, and a polite message came from the Hien, or governor, requesting that his excellency would take possession of this pavilion. It was stated that we should be three or four more days in reaching *Nangan foo*.

On the 15th we proceeded through a beautifully wooded country until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the squadron brought up at a considerable distance from the nearest town, *Linching*, in consequence of the exhaustion of the crews in the grievous toil of urging on our boats through the shallows. It rained during the whole of that night, and for the greater part of the 16th, on which the boats continued their

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course until an unusually late hour, though the opposition of the stream was considerably augmented by the rain.

On the following day we stopped as early as two o'clock in the afternoon, about thirty *ly* short of *Nangan foo*, and the *Kinchae* paid our ambassador a visit on board his boat. *Kwong* was accompanied by the Canton linguist, but as his excellency found this man quite unintelligible, he requested me to be the medium of communication. The *Kinchae* said that the cause of our stopping thus early, was the circumstance of several boats having been left behind. He added, that our unusually successful day's work yesterday was the consequence of the fall of rain, by which the depth of water had been considerably augmented. This was a curious reason, and described in the most striking manner the nature of our navigation, along a stream so shallow that it could be sensibly increased by a few hours' rain. The conversation proceeded on indifferent subjects until the legate rose to go to his dinner.

We were destined on the 18th of December to see the *ne plus ultra* of this extraordinary navigation, when the stream was in some places not larger than a brook that in England would turn a mill. With this character the river wound and twisted itself among very high hills on each side, covered with small firs, intermingled with which sometimes appeared a species of the Indian fig, or banyan. The wet and cold weather prevented any enjoyment of the open air; and we were glad when the boats, on rounding a projecting point, brought us at once into a suburb of *Nangan foo*, situated in a valley formed by the mountains receding on the right and left. The ambassador's boat hauled up to a landing place with a temporary building for his accommodation. In walking through the city, we found it divided into two separate walled portions, between which the river flows down, while the banks are joined by a mean bridge of timbers supported with piers of stone. On mounting

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a hill, at the top of which was a small pyramidal tower (erected merely for the sake of *foong shuey*, or good luck), we had a bird's eye view of the double town, which looked poor and wretched, notwithstanding its position in the high road of the pass. Arrangements were made for our baggage to cross the mountain on the next day, and for ourselves to follow on the day after.

The morning of the 19th was employed in preparing all things to leave the boats; after which some of us walked to the *Koongkwân*, or house on shore intended for us, which proved so vile a place that it was infinitely preferable to pass the remaining night on board the boats. We were not induced to occupy these quarters, even by the figures of the two "gods of the doorway," which were conspicuously exhibited on the gates. The legend concerning these states that *Shin-too* and *Yoh-leo* were two brothers who inhabited an island in the eastern sea. They lived under a peach-tree, and exercised a control over malign spirits. The ancient king, *Hwong-ty*, erected a gate of peach-tree wood, on which he painted the likeness of these two genii or gods, as a safeguard against *Kwei*, or evil demons—a practice which continues to the present day through China. As Europeans are called *Kwei* at Canton, our Chinese friends might have thought that the "gods of the doorway" prevented our occupying the abode in question. I was surprised to read the names "Deguignes" and "d'Ozy, 1795," cut upon the wooden panels of this house, proving that the Dutch embassy was lodged here, and that the place had never been altered since.

An immense number of porters (said to exceed two thousand) was assembled for carrying the baggage and presents of the embassy, which were certainly none of the fewest or smallest, some cases measuring ten feet square, and requiring forty men to carry them. The greatest care was taken to prevent confusion, by labelling every thing in Chinese and English. At four o'clock on the following morning, long before day-

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light, we were all up and stirring to commence our day's journey through the *Meiling* pass, a total distance of about thirty miles. The light of the twisted pine torches, used by the Chinese, gave a picturesque effect to the whole scene. At half-past six, a party of us, mounted on the small horses of the country, commenced our journey, an hour or two before the ambassador and second commissioner, who proceeded in chairs. Mine was a tolerable nag, but I could not quite apply to him the Chinese description of a good horse, that "he ascends a hill like level ground, and crosses the water like a floating bridge."

At the commencement of our march, as we quitted the town, a long line of soldiers was drawn out under arms, with the usual salute in passing. We soon reached the bottom of the ascent, where we dismounted and began to walk up. Here commenced the paved granite road which continues through the pass uninterrupted to *Nan-heung foo* on the Canton side—a really fine public work, to be classed among the best and most useful in China. As we gradually approached the summit of the ridge, where the rock is cut down to the depth of twenty-five or thirty feet, with a breadth of about twenty, the view burst upon us in full grandeur, and displayed some mountain scenery perhaps nowhere surpassed.

The descent into the plain on the *Kwâng-tung* or Canton side was at first steep and winding, but afterwards comparatively easy. I observed the *Mei shoo*, a species of prunus, in flower, being that from which the pass derives its name Meiling, "the mountain ridge of the mei flower." It was evident, from two circumstances, that the paved road across the mountain had not been made for wheel carriages. There was not, in the first place, sufficient breadth for two carriages to pass each other; and about the steepest parts of the ascent the road was cut in steps, which precluded the possibility of using wheels upon it. From an ancient inscription at the summit of the road, it appears that this work was effected by a person who

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lived under the Tâng dynasty, in the ninth century of our era.

Some time after clearing the pass, we arrived at a place called *Choong-chen*, "the middle halting-place," or halfway-house. Here we were invited to dismount, and being conducted into the interior of a very respectable *Koong-kwân* through the outer court, were agreeably surprised to see an excellent Chinese repast laid out for the refreshment and entertainment of the whole party, as they successively arrived. Our previous experience of Chinese hospitality had led to the precautionary measure of conveying provisions on the march; but, as the weather was extremely sharp on these heights, a cold luncheon was well exchanged for the really comfortable warm repast, à la Chinoise, which here greeted the embassy, forming a strange contrast, after our quarrel with the emperor, to the vile and insulting *feed* which, on the night of the 28th of August, had been presented to the embassy when on the high road to the imperial presence! It was quite clear that all the liberal treatment that we received in China was subsequent to the rejection of the mission.

A remarkable difference was observed, on first entering the Canton province, in the uniforms of the soldiers. These had invariably been blue edged with red, throughout the whole empire to this frontier—from Peking to the *Meiling* pass. No sooner, however, had we reached the borders of Kwâng-tung, than the dress of the military became red edged with white; and, on one or two occasions, when their *cavalry* turned out for us, white edged with red. The display of troops was moreover much more frequent on the Canton side than we had before observed it. At every four or five miles was a military station; and just before we entered the frontier city *Nanheung foo*, not less than three hundred cavalry, matchlock men and archers, were drawn up on the two sides of the road. In no instance throughout the country did we ever see a line of soldiers two deep. Canton not being upon

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the whole a wealthier province than some that we had passed through (as *Keangnân*), it was reasonable to conclude that the extra display of military array was for the express purpose of awing the European barbarians, and showing them what they had to expect if they misbehaved at Canton.

When the steepest part of the declivity had been passed, we found ourselves on an irregular plain, still maintaining a gentle descent in the direction of the city which we approached. At the distance of about seventy ly, or twenty miles from the pass, we entered the suburbs of *Nanheung foo*, an important city, vastly excelling the town which had just been quitted on the north of the mountain. All the signs of a public entry were here diplayed; among the rest we observed red hangings of silk or cloth, stretched across the streets at certain distances. After passing a long suburb we entered a gate in the wall, and traversed the whole length of the city to the side adjoining the river on which we were to embark—a distance of not less than two English miles.

The embassy was ushered to a very respectable *Koongkwân*, much superior to the one we had so long occupied at *Tung-chow*, near Peking. His lordship was received at the gate with military honours; and here it was settled that our whole party should spend at least one day, while the new boats were loading for our reception.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE lodgings provided for us by the Chinese in the town were, for the first time, of such a description as not to make us wish for the boats in preference. The barks, indeed, which were to convey us along the upper portion of the stream were, from the necessity of the case, extremely wretched. Any thing intended to float in the *rivulet*, or at most trout stream, which we must navigate for the first few days, could only draw a few inches water. The boats provided for the ambassador and commissioners were rather better than the remainder; but these were merely the cargo boats used in floating the tea down after it has crossed the *Meiling* pass. They had nothing but mat covers tilted over them, and were altogether without partitions fore and aft—what they call on board ship "clear for action."

Fortunately, however, our journey to *Chaouchow foo*, the place of transhipment, could only last three or four days; and the weather, though very cold (below forty degrees), was bright and clear as a winter in Italy.

The legate sent a message, on the morning of the 21st December, expressing his anxiety to depart with all speed, as the river was becoming every day more shallow from the continuance of dry weather, and likely soon to be unnavigable even to Chinese. This is constantly the cause of detention to the supplies of tea on their way to Canton. A civil offer from the *Kinchae* was as surprising as it was unexpected. He proposed to forward letters to our friends at Canton, where we should probably arrive in twenty days; a proposal that was gladly accepted.

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A Chinese entertainment in very good style was served up in the *Koongkwân*, forming by no means a disagreeable change from our every-day routine. A party some time afterwards proceeded to the bridge which crosses the river, for the purpose of examining a pair of guns stationed at the guard-house. While peaceably engaged in viewing these, one of the inferior mandarins at the station displayed a disposition to be insolent and troublesome; but he became sufficiently quiet on its being gently hinted to him that he might possibly be taken by the tail before the legate. The guns were evidently some which had been cast by the Jesuits; they were three or four pounders, with Chinese characters stamped on them. In the evening we all escorted the ambassador to his boat, accompanied by the guard; on which occasion some Chinese music struck up, and the usual salute of three guns was fired.

Before quitting the city of *Nanheung foo*, I must notice its vicinity to a very singular race of people, the mountaineers, called *Meaoutse*, who for ages have continued independent, and proved very troublesome to the Chinese government. They inhabit principally that line of mountains which bounds the province of *Kweichow* to the south; but a considerable portion extend to the north-west boundary of the Canton province, close to the city *Lienchow*. These last, as late as the year 1832, defeated the viceroy of Canton, and killed above two thousand of the Chinese forces; and it is generally supposed that they were never effectually chastised. The Jesuit, Père Parennin, in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, gives a very correct account of these singular mountaineers, and of the policy which the Chinese adopt towards them. Having never been able effectually to subdue the *Meaoutse* by arms, the government, to keep them in check, has erected towns and forts at the feet of the passes by which they were accustomed to descend and ravage the plains. This

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does not prevent their irruptions, of which accounts are immediately transmitted to Peking, and there spoken of as rebellion and revolt—the names given to every act of hostility against the emperor on the part of even independent nations.

Edicts are immediately issued to the viceroys of the neighbouring provinces, ordering them to levy troops and chastise the *rebels*, or *robbers*, or *dogmen*, according as it may please the Peking government to style them, this mode of abuse being usual towards an enemy. Some troops are accordingly marched to the neighbourhood of those hilly forests which are the abodes of the *Meaoutse;* but these in their natural strongholds are more than a match for the Chinese troops, who do not venture to intrude too far. In the mean while, some unfortunate stragglers are caught and put to death, and a report is made to Peking that the victory is complete, and that the rebels have been destroyed in their most secret recesses. Rewards are accordingly proposed for the most deserving officers and soldiers.

In the year 1832, the *Meaoutse*, or, as they are there called, the *Yaou-jin* of *Lien-shân* (which are the mountains near *Lien-chow* in Canton province), set up a leader whom they styled the "golden dragon." This person assumed the insignia of Chinese royalty, a yellow upper dress, with the title of *Wong*, or king. The progress of the *Yaou-jin* was very rapid, and they possessed themselves of four considerable towns. They warred only against the Chinese military, not molesting such of the people as were not found in arms against them. A Tartar general, named *Hae-ling-ah*, fell into a snare which they laid for him, and was killed, with about twenty other officers, and a great many soldiers; while the guns, &c., were captured. A reinforcement of a thousand men being sent from Canton to the neighbourhood of *Lien-chow*, two hundred of these were sent back, as being quite unfitted for service by the

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use of *opium*. In a rencounter with the Yaou-jin the Chinese force was again defeated, with a loss of two thousand men.

At length a Peking gazette, dated in May, 1838, contained an account of a great victory gained over the mountaineers on the north side of the *Lien-shân*, i. e. in Hoonân province. "The rebels having invaded the level country, and taken a small town named *Pingtseuen*, our troops attacked them on all sides, and prevented their escape into Canton province. The rebels, however, still kept possession of the town, from the walls of which they fired on and greatly harassed our troops, until about forty of the latter advanced under cover of their shields, and leaped on the walls. At the first onset they were thrown back and several wounded; but they rallied, and more troops coming forward to support them, again mounted the walls, and cut down above *a thousand* of the enemy. The rest of the rebels then feigned to offer submission; but *Lo-sze-keu* (the commander-in-chief) refused it, and placing two divisions on the north and west sides of the town to prevent escape, he himself advanced on the south and east sides. A cannonade was opened on the town, and fireballs thrown in among the rebels, by means of which many were killed.

"But they still continued to return our fire; the troops, therefore, made a sudden rush among them, killed about *a thousand*, and took several of their chiefs prisoners. They, however, succeeded in closing the gates on us. *Lo-sze-keu* urged a more vigorous attack; our men rushed forward, fearless of danger, and the rebels were routed, but maintained a running fight, until, coming between two bodies of our troops, they were slain to the number of two or three thousand. Among the prisoners taken were two sons of *Chaou-kinloong* ('the golden dragon'), besides inferior persons. Ten cannon, and above three thousand small arms, were also taken."

The *Yaou-jin*, being worsted in *Hoonân*, descended

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on the other side of the *Lien-shân* into Canton province. The viceroy (called by the English governor Le) repaired to the scene of action with reinforcements. The Chinese army endeavoured to enter the mountains at five different passes, but were repulsed with great loss, and as many as eighty officers were killed. In extenuation of the defeat, the difficulties of the country, and the mode of warfare adopted by the Yaou-jin, were pleaded; in particular the explosion of a mine of gunpowder. Governor Le was, however, disgraced, and not only deprived of his government at Canton, but condemned to pay a third of the expenses of the warfare, and banished to western Tartary.

After the lapse of some time, the surprising rumour was heard that the formidable *Yaou-jin* were entirely subdued, and that the war was at an end. A paper, however (for its boldness a most singular document), was written by one of the civil or literary class of the Chinese, representing the submission of the mountaineers as an entire deception, and the conduct of the emperor's brother-in-law (a commissioner on the occasion) an imposition on the court. He stated that the commissioner gave half a million of taels for a sham surrender of the *Yaou-jin*, and that titles of distinction were granted to some of the leading men among them. It was added that the mountaineers still continued in some degree their depredations on the plains, though the local Chinese officers dissembled the fact. If only one half of these circumstances were true, they present a strange picture of Chinese weakness. It is certainly in intrigue and negotiation that they are chiefly redoubtable, and not in arms.

To return to our journey. On the morning of the 22nd of December, the *Kinchae* started from Nanheung foo, nothing doubting that we should follow. In this, however, he was mistaken. Such a total disregard had been shown by the Chinese officers to the accommodation of the boats, and even to the furnishing our necessary supplies, that the ambassador in-

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sisted on the squadron remaining until this object was accomplished. Some little demur was evinced by the boatmen to obey this order, but they yielded when they saw preparations to compel them.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the different boats had all received their supplies, and the signal was made on board the ambassador's boat to advance, when the whole fleet got under way. This determined step was the more requisite, as the Chinese had not only omitted to supply us themselves, but had sent on ahead our baggage-boats, from whence the deficiencies might in some measure have been made good. Very little progress was made this day, in consequence of the extreme shallowness of the stream causing the boats to ground constantly. The country was flat and uninteresting, with sandy banks, whose appearance proved that during rainy periods the stream is much broader and deeper than we saw it.

The boatmen continued their exertions during the night, to further our progress, and overtake the *Kin-chae*. On the morning of the 23rd I got on shore, and took advantage of our slow pace to make an excursion along the banks. It was a pleasant fertile country near the river, but in the distance to our right were some high and barren mountains, which could not be far from the *Lien-shân*, the abodes of the fierce *Yaou-jin*, the "dogmen," or "wolfmen," whose exploits have been just noticed. We stopped early in the afternoon, as the ambassador's boat, from its superior size, was far astern, and impeded by the shallows.

Our progress on the 24th was through a very picturesque hilly country, presenting in general a wild scenery. The course from *Nanheung foo* had been hitherto much to the westward of south, carrying us nearer to *Lien-chow* than we were before. Our travels through this part of China certainly tended to establish one fact, namely, that the old European accounts of the universal cultivation of the country ha-

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been very absurdly exaggerated. It must be admitted, however, that the Chinese made a good use of the barren hills in this neighbourhood, by planting them thickly with firs, the timber of which is floated down the river towards Canton in immense rafts, on which are built houses, forming the dwellings of whole families.

About noon on the 25th December we passed some very remarkable rocky cliffs near the river, the most conspicuous of which so greatly impended over its base as to threaten destruction to whatever passed under it. These are called by the Chinese *Woo Matow*, not the "Five horses' heads," (which is the literal meaning,) but the "Five piers, or jetties," from a supposed resemblance to those landing-places for their boats which they call *Matow*. These rocks were above five hundred feet in height, and crowned partly with wood. The rugged sides occasionally narrowed and deepened the river by their approach, but in broader places the stream was still very shallow, and my own frail bark, once getting aground on the loose pebbly bottom, sprung a serious leak, which was stopped with some trouble. For the purpose of more speedily closing an accidental leak, these boats had scarcely any flooring or deck to them.

At other times, when close to the bases of the perpendicular cliffs, the water was ten or twelve feet deep; and our speed during these intervals made up in some measure for the obstacles elsewhere. Early in the afternoon we reached *Chaouchowfoo*, a principal city of Canton province. It was situated on the right bank of the river, just above its confluence with the *Sy-ho*, or "western stream," which here combines to give a depth of water adequate to all purposes of navigation. The city no doubt derives its size and consequence from the circumstances of its situation. Soon after landing, some of our party endeavoured to cross the river and penetrate into the town; but perceived that, as soon as they approached, all the boats moved away from the shore. A bridge of boats, con-

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nected by a chain, appeared to have been purposely divided in the middle to prevent our passage. My curiosity concerning Chinese towns, after having visited so many, was now pretty nearly satisfied, and I therefore took no further pains about the matter; but some of our party contrived to make their way in, and reported that it did not yield to any town that we had yet seen in the country.

Being no longer restricted as to the size of our conveyances, we found, upon our arrival, the new and larger boats intended to carry the embassy on to Canton. It appeared, however, upon examination, that these were all exactly alike, and each of them surmounted with a similar flag, inscribed *Koongchuen*, "tribute-boats," without the distinguishing marks that had always belonged to the ambassador and commissioners. On the other hand, the *Kinchae*, we found on inquiry, had contrived to be accommodated with a most elegant floating vehicle, carved and gilded *quantum suff.* When the proper remonstrances were made, we received for answer that the deputy-governor of Canton had sent his own barge for the commissioner. This might be all very well; but the ambassador still desired to be furnished with a respectable boat, which at length was procured, with two others for the commissioners. These barges were indeed by far the most commodious of any that we had met with, and the aspect of the interior was rich and handsome.

The people at this place were excessively insolent, proving our approach to the vicious capital of the province, Canton. Some of them were chastised with a stick, and even a mandarin of the rank of Hien ran a narrow risk of being ducked in the river. The ambassador and a party of us celebrated Christmas day in the third commissioner's boat, and it was with no small gratification we reflected that another week would remove us from the hospitality of the "celestials."

We were detained during the 26th at our anchorage

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on account of loading the new boats. The extreme negligence, whether accidental or studied, of the local officers as we approached Canton was remarkable, and required some trouble to remedy it. They absented themselves from us (contrary to the practice of all those with whom we had been concerned), and left everything to subordinates, in consequence of which we ran some chance of wanting both assistance and supplies. A written remonstrance to the *Kinchae* had the effect of flapping the ears of our Laputans, and bringing them to their recollection. Some of the beautifully bright and moderately cold weather, so common in a Canton winter, made amends for the conduct of our Chinese friends, and was improved by the junior portion of the embassy to a game at cricket on shore.

When we left the neighbourhood of the city early on the morning of the 27th December, and passed the junction of the two rivers just below the termination of the walls, the rapidity of our progress was an agreeable change which reminded some of the party of their approach to Canton. Our boats were provided with the great sculls abaft, which are so efficient in the river navigation at that place; and in addition to these the men helped us on lustily with their long bamboo poles, while the stream itself ran at the rate of three miles an hour. Another symptom of Canton appeared in the long narrow guard-boats, rowed by eighteen or twenty men, with a swivel gun in front of several. Whatever may be said about the indifference or repugnance of the Chinese as to copying foreigners, I am persuaded that the superior efficiency of many things of the kind at Canton, compared with the north and the interior, is owing greatly to hints furnished by our example to them.

We sailed along an interesting country of hills and rocks well wooded, the channel of the river sometimes flowing through an extensive valley, and at others straitened between lofty and projecting banks, where it bore a considerable resemblance to the Rhine in the

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upper parts of its course. The hills that were not occupied by forest trees were occasionally planted with the Camellia oleifera. Some of our party observed, for the first and only time in the south of China, a boat with the fishing pelicans on board.

With reference to our approaching arrival at Canton, the ambassador, by the advice of the second commissioner, came to the resolution that the mission should land in state, as the effect of its public appearance there was a matter of some consequence, and the possession of our own crews and boats would enable it to make a very different figure from that which it possessed under Chinese tutelage. The *Kinchae* had given us to understand that a *koong-kwân*, or public residence, was prepared by the government for the embassy's reception; a satisfactory circumstance in itself, for though his excellency and suite would have been infinitely better lodged in the British factory, the offer on the part of the government proved its desire to preserve a friendly aspect towards us; and this was as much as any embassy, with all possible compliances, had ever been able to obtain.

We knew from our position on the map that the famous rock and cavern containing a temple, and called *Kwân-yin-shân*, could not be far distant. The desire of our whole party to inspect a place which had been so eloquently described by the pen of Lord Macartney, was accordingly made known to the *Kinchae*, our conductor. At about eight o'clock on the morning of the 28th December the squadron of boats was stopped purposely by the legate's order, in front of the huge precipitous limestone rock in which the caverns are situated. The height of the rock itself could not be under five hundred feet, rising abruptly from the river, with deep water close up to it. The natural fissures had been enlarged by art, and steps were cut from the level of the river, leading to what might be styled the basement floor. An interior flight of steps, also cut out of the native limestone, led to a second cavern overhead, the height of which above the

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water was estimated at about a hundred feet. A native Chinese drawing in my possession very fairly represents the external appearance of this singular place, as seen from the river.

Over the natural fissure in the rock, which formed the window of the upper story, hung an immense mass of a stalactitic appearance, perhaps formed by the percolation through the limestone of water charged with carbonic acid. This, and other overhanging portions of the black and dismal cliff, seemed to threaten destruction to all who entered from below. The shaven priests received us politely at the foot of the steps, and conducted us to the penetralia of the temple dedicated to the goddess Kwân-yîn. This deity belongs to the Budhist religion, and though she has sometimes a place in the temples dedicated to the *Trimurti*, or Triad, we often found her monopolising, as in the present case, an altar entirely to herself. As intercessor for the sins of mortals, (under the title of "the most merciful goddess,") she resembles in some degree the "queen of heaven" in the Romish worship.

The two Canton linguists, who had accompanied the embassy from Peking by the emperor's orders, performed their devotions by knocking head before the idol; while we were contented with making an offering to the temple, in return for the civilities of the priests. The curiosity of the party being gratified, we were glad to emerge from this living burial-place into light and air, and to rejoin the boats. The wind became so violent soon afterwards, that apprehensions were entertained by the Chinese as to proceeding; and at length an accident to the *Kin-chae's* boat, by striking on a rock, brought the whole fleet to a stop, and obliged our conductor to change into another vessel.

He took occasion of this delay to visit the ambassador, and renewed all his civil speeches; adding that a particular order from the emperor had remitted the duties on the Indiaman in which the presents had

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come laden. We were glad to proceed on our journey after a few hours' stoppage, but did not advance above thirty ly further, before we anchored for the night opposite to *Ying-tĕ-hien*, a small walled town, with a shabby modern pagoda near it, but a handsomer one upon our own side of the river.

On the morning of the 29th we got under way with a strong north-east monsoon, and sailed along the valley in which the town of *Ying-tĕ-hien* is situated, amidst fertile and well-cultivated lands. Not more than thirty *ly* had been accomplished, when we approached a part of the river where the projection of the high rocky banks on either side formed a narrow gorge, through which the wind, before sufficiently strong, blew with a degree of violence which daunted our Chinese navigators, and caused the whole squadron to anchor early in the day near a sandy bank on the hither side of the pass. On our left was a thick and extensive grove of bamboos, which, being in fact a gigantic grass, might be compared to a meadow in Brobdingnag just ready for the scythe. The stem of the bamboo, like other grasses, dies as soon as it has flowered. It is cut down periodically by the Chinese, at different stages of its growth, according to the uses intended. The bamboo poles, on which two of the Chinese coolies, or porters, carry about 150 lbs. between them, measure four or five inches in diameter.

At daylight on the 30th December we left our anchorage with a moderate breeze, and threaded the narrow defile which the boisterous weather of the preceding day had forbade our encountering. The river soon widened out considerably, but continued to wind occasionally between high hills at a little distance. About noon I left the boat to walk on shore, among plantations of sugar-cane, and rice fields which at this season exhibited nothing but the ground prepared for the reception of the seed or plants. Soon after I had returned to the boats, they passed another very beautiful channel, between lofty hills, completely covered with hanging woods of a noble growth.

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These were destined to be the last of the wild mountain and forest scenery, of which we had observed so much since entering the Canton province.

Those persons who have never gone beyond the city of Canton, are apt to imagine that the flat and fertile scenery, which they view around them, is a mere sample of the character and condition of the whole province; whereas it extends but a comparatively short distance up the river, and changes (in the neighbourhood of *Tsing-yuen-hien*) into a mountainous and thinly-peopled country, which is the general character of the Canton province, taken in the gross. The Chinese history speaks of the aborigines of this wild region under the name of *Mân*, who within a comparatively recent period were subdued and incorporated into the "Middle Nation." Many persons have remarked a decidedly Malay cast in the features of the natives of this province; and it is highly probable that the Canton and Fokien people were originally the same race as the tribes which still remain unreclaimed on the east side of Formosa.

In the evening we reached *Tsing-yuen-hien*, a walled town, situated on a sandy flat at the commencement of the alluvial country. Here our boats were anchored on the side of the river opposite to the town, according to the practice which had lately been adopted. The atmosphere of Canton jealousy and precaution seemed already to surround us; but our curiosity had now been satisfied to the full, during the long inland travels which were here fast approaching to their termination. The town of *Tsing-yuen-hien* extended, with its suburbs, to a considerable distance along the bank of the river, and had a populous and flourishing appearance. Two pagodas were distinguishable, one close to the town, and another, considerably larger, some way down the stream.

The hour being late, we did not trouble our Chinese friends with a visit across the water, but were contented with a walk through a fine grove of bamboos into the adjoining country, which was interspersed

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with farms situated amidst rice grounds, reminding us of the familiar features of Canton scenery. One of the peculiar boasts of this southern portion of the province is its rice cultivation, said to be the finest in the empire, and extending over the vast flat through which the innumerable channels of the river find their way into the sea. Almost every considerable village which we passed in our course had a substantial square-looking building of brick, which served as a depository for the grain not required for immediate consumption.

On the 31st December we held our course along the widening river, which flowed through a country that grew more flat as we advanced. Around us were low sandy islands and banks, which from their naked appearance were incapable of cultivation, and occasionally flooded by water. I took an excursion on shore, which could not be otherwise than pleasant in the delightful climate for which this country is remarkable during the months that intervene between November and April. Here, for the first time in the course of our travels, my ears were greeted with the sounds so frequent and familiar at Canton, *Fánkwei* and *Hoong-maou*, "Foreign devil," and "Rufus,"—without having the slightest personal claims to the last distinction, however indisputable my title to the first.

Late in the evening we reached *San-shuey-hien*, "the hien of three streams," as it stands at the union of three watery channels. Here was at first some appearance of stopping for the night; but the word was presently given to proceed, in order that we might secure the passage of a shoal at the next high tide. This gave general satisfaction, as it insured our arrival at Canton on the following day, after an absence of nearly six months from all the means of obtaining news from England—to which may be added, that our protracted stay in the interior of the empire had rather tired us of our Chinese life, than reconciled us

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to it. At the same time, I believe there was not one of the party but was well content to have purchased such rare opportunities of observation and inquiry, at the expense of some personal discomfort, and occasionally not a little mental irritation.

New-year's day seemed as if it dawned for the purpose of welcoming the return of our embassy to Canton. The boats proceeded at a rapid pace during the whole night of the 31st; and at nine o'clock in the morning of the 1st January we were not twenty miles from the city. The familiar scenery of that place here commenced. The river sides were planted with orange-trees, plantains, and lychees; while nothing but rice-fields appeared inland. The clear water of the stream on which we had sailed began now to assume a turbid appearance, and to increase greatly both in depth and breadth. At length those who were looking out ahead descried the ambassador's barge, bearing the royal standard, and sweeping along towards us at a rapid pace. This was soon followed by a numerous procession of boats in two lines from all the British ships, with their crews in uniform. The American consul and some other foreigners came likewise to welcome his lordship's arrival; and the day was concluded with a splendid banquet at the British Factory.

It was, I believe, a general sentiment at Canton, that the resistance made by the embassy to the haughty conduct of the Peking court was the best possible result that could have been obtained; and that the mere reception, followed by the supercilious dismissal of the mission, would have been far too dearly purchased by compliances which a former British ambassador very wisely refused. The impression produced by the spirit and firmness which had just been displayed, even under the personal frown of the despot, continued long to exercise its influence at Canton; and if such *temerity* in foreigners surprised the ignorant Chinese, it was at the same time

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calculated to remove some portion of their silly prepossessions concerning the universal supremacy of the celestial empire.

It may convey some idea of the slowness of Chinese travelling to observe, in concluding this chapter, that the average rate of our progress from Peking to Canton, including stoppages, was only ten miles a day, or considerably less than half a mile an hour—that is, not the *fiftieth* part of the ordinary rail-road speed. The latter would "put a girdle round about the earth" in forty days; the former creep round in little less than seven years!

THE END.

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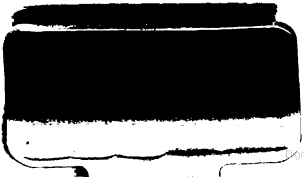

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